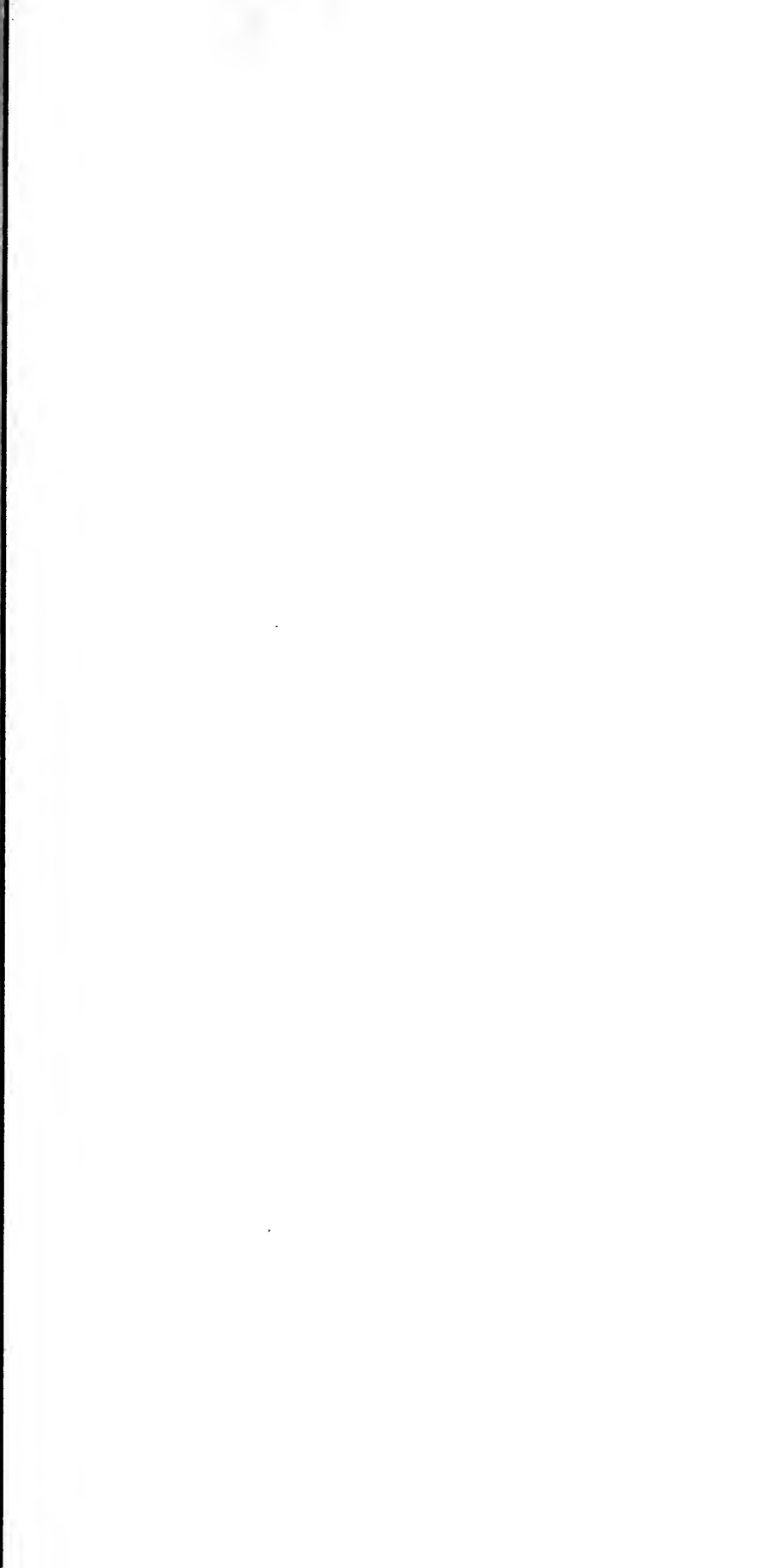




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THE
ANTIQUARY'S PORTFOLIO,
OR
CABINET SELECTION
OF
HISTORICAL & LITERARY CURIOSITIES,
ON SUBJECTS PRINCIPALLY CONNECTED WITH
THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND MORALS; CIVIL, MILITARY, AND
ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT, &c. &c.
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
DURING THE MIDDLE AND LATTER AGES.

(WITH NOTES.)

BY J. S. FORSYTH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

321909
4.12.35

We may correct, erroneous oft,
The clock of history, facts and events
Timing more punctual, unrecorded facts
Recovering, and mis-stated setting right.

COWPER to Yardley Oak.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

GEORGE WIGHTMAN, 24, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

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THE
Antiquary's Portfolio, &c.

MEMOIR OF JOHN EVELYN, ESQ. F.R.S.

JOHN EVELYN, whose philosophical writings, and particularly his treatise on Forest-Trees, do such honour to his memory, was born at Wotton in Surry, the seat of his father Richard Evelyn, Esq. upon the 31st of October, 1620. He was descended from a very ancient and honourable family, which flourished originally in Shropshire; and was first settled at Wotton, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was instructed in grammar and classical learning at the free-school at Lewes, in Sussex, from whence, in the year 1637, he was removed, and entered as a gentleman commoner at Baliol college, in Oxford. He remained there about three years, prosecuting his academical studies with great diligence; and then removed to the Middle Temple, in London, in order to add a competent knowledge of the laws of his country to his philological and philosophical acquisitions. Upon the breaking out of the Civil war, he repaired to Oxford; where he obtained leave from king Charles I.

under his own hand, to travel into foreign countries for the completion of his education.

In the spring of 1644, he left England, in order to make the tour of Europe; which he performed very successfully, making it his business to inquire carefully into the state of the sciences, and the improvements made in all the useful arts, wherever he came. He spent some time at Rome, and visited also other parts of Italy, for the sake of improving himself in architecture, painting, the knowledge of antiquities, medals, &c. His early affection to, and skill in the fine arts, appeared during his travels; for we find, that he delineated on the spot the prospects of several remarkable places that lies betwixt Rome and Naples: all of which were engraved from our author's sketches by Hoare, an eminent artist at that time.

He returned to Paris in the year 1647; where being recommended to Sir Richard Browne, Bart. the King's minister there, he made his addresses to his only daughter Mary, whom he soon after married, and by whom he became possessed of Sayes-Court, near Deptford, in Kent, where he resided after his return to England, which was about the year 1651.

Sometime before this he had commenced author, and the following pieces seem to be the first productions of his pen:—1. 'Liberty and Servitude.' 1649, 12mo. Translated from the French.—2. 'A Character of England, as it was lately presented in a

letter to a Nobleman of France, with reflections on Gallus Castratus.' 1651, 16mo. The third edition of this book appeared in 1659: at present it is very scarce.—3. 'The State of France.' 1652, 8vo.—4. 'An Essay on the first book of Lucretius, interpreted and made into English Verse.' 1656, 8vo. This translation was decorated with a frontispiece, designed by his ingenious lady; with a panegyrical copy of verses, by Mr. Waller, prefixed to it.—5. 'The French Gardener; instructing how to cultivate all sorts of fruit-trees and herbs for the garden.' 1658, and several times after. In most of the editions is added, 'The English Gardener vindicated, by John Rose, gardener to King Charles II., with a tract of the making and ordering wines in France.' The third edition of the 'French Gardener,' which came out in 1676, was illustrated with copperplates.—6. 'The Golden Book of St. Chrysostom, concerning the Education of Children.' 1569, 12mo.

The situation of public affairs induced Mr. Evelyn to live very retired at Sayes-Court; and so fond was he of this rural retreat, that he seemed determined to enjoy retirement for life. This studious disposition, together with his disgust of the world, occasioned by the violence and confusion of the times, was so strong, that he actually proposed to Mr. Boyle the raising a kind of college for the reception of persons of the same turn of mind; where they might enjoy the pleasure of society, and at

the same time pass their days without care or interruption.

The moment that a prospect appeared of the king's restoration, our author quitted philosophy for politics ; and, upon an attempt being made to damp the desires of the people for the king's return, he drew his pen in that critical and important season, in defence of the royal person and cause. The title of his piece was : 7. ' An Apology for the Royal Party, written in a letter to a person of the late Council of State ; with a touch at the pretended Plea of the Army.' 1659, 4to. This pamphlet had a good effect, and was generally so well received, that it ran through three impressions that year. Soon after came out a piece, entitled, ' News from Brussels, in a Letter from a near attendant on his Majesty's person, to a person of honour here, dated March 10, 1659.' The design of this pretended letter was to represent the character of King Charles II. in as bad a light as possible, and intended to destroy the impression which had been propagated to his advantage. All the king's friends were extremely alarmed at this attempt, and Mr. Evelyn as much as any of them ; who, to furnish an antidote to this poison with all possible speed, sent abroad, in a week's time, a complete answer, which bore the following title : 8. ' The late News or Message from Brussels unmasked.' 1659, 4to.

Immediately after the king's return, Mr. Evelyn was introduced to, and graciously received by him ;

nor was it long before he received a very singular mark of the king's esteem for, and confidence in him; for he was chosen by his majesty to draw up 'A narrative of a dispute and quarrel for precedence, which happened between the Spanish and French ambassadors, and which would have occasioned a war between those nations, if the King of Spain, though he gained the better in the present scuffle, had not agreed to yield the precedence to the French upon all future occasions, without any dispute. Mr. Evelyn began now to enter into the active scenes of life, but yet without bidding adieu to his studies; on the contrary, he published, in the space of a few months, no less than four pieces: as, 9. 'A Panegyric at his Majesty King Charles the Second's Coronation.' 1661, folio.—10. 'Instructions concerning the erecting of a Library, translated from the French of Gabriel Naudé, with some improvements by himself.' 1661, 8vo.—11. 'Fumifugium; or the inconveniences of the air and the smoke of London dissipated, together with some remedies humbly proposed.' 1661, 4to. This was addressed to the king and parliament, and published by his majesty's express command. 12. 'Tyrannus; or the Mode: in a discourse of sumptuary laws.' 1661, 8vo. In the year 1662, when the Royal Society was established, Mr. Evelyn was appointed one of the first fellows and council. He had given a proof the same year how well he deserved that distinction, by a small but

excellent work, intituled, 13. 'Sculptura; or the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper, with an ample enumeration of the most renowned masters and their works; to which is annexed, a new manner of engraving or mezzotinto, communicated by his highness Prince Rupert to the author of this treatise.' 1662, 12mo. A second edition of this work, which was become exceedingly scarce and dear, was printed in 1755, 12mo; 'containing some corrections and additions, taken from the margin of the author's printed copy, an etching of his head, an exact copy of the mezzotinto done by Prince Rupert, a translation of all the Greek and Latin passages, and memoirs of the author's life.'

Upon the first appearance of the nation's being obliged to engage in a war with the Dutch, the king thought proper to appoint commissioners to take care of the sick and wounded; and Mr. Evelyn was one of the number, having all the ports between Dover and Portsmouth for his district. This was in 1664; within the compass of which year his literary labours were not only as great, but even greater, than in any of those preceding. This arose from his earnest desire to support the credit of the Royal Society; and to convince the world that philosophy was not barely an amusement, fit only to employ the time of melancholy and speculative people, but an high and useful science, worthy the attention of men of the greatest parts, and

capable of contributing, in a supreme degree, to the welfare of the nation. With this view he published, 14. ‘*Silva: or, a Discourse of Forest-trees, and the Propagation of Timber in his Majesty’s Dominions. To which is annexed, Pomona: or, an Appendix concerning Fruit-trees, in relation to Cyder; the making and several ways of ordering it.*’ 1664, folio. This most valuable work was written at the request of the Royal Society, ‘upon occasion,’ as the title tells us, ‘of certain queries propounded to that illustrious assembly, by the honourable the principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy;’ and published by their order. It has undergone several editions; a second in 1669; a third in 1679, with great additions and improvements; a fourth in 1705, still considerably augmented; and a fifth in 1729, with all the lesser pieces of our author relating to agriculture and gardening annexed, as they were in the fourth. These two last editions are extremely incorrect. But a new and elegant edition, with notes by A. Hunter, M. D. F. R. S., and the life of the author, and including ‘*Terra, a Philosophical Discourse of Earth,*’ appeared in 1786, in two volumes 4to.

As a diligent perusal of this last useful treatise may animate our nobility and gentry to improve their estates, by the never-failing methods there recommended, so an attentive study of our author’s next work may perhaps contribute to improve their taste in building. It is intitled, 15. ‘*A Parallel of*

the ancient Architecture with the modern, in a collection of ten principal authors, who have written upon the five orders, viz. Palladio and Scamozzi, Gerlio and Vignola, D. Barbaro and Cateneo, L. B. Alberti and Viola, Bullart and De Lorme, compared with one another. The three orders, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, comprise the first part of this treatise; and the two Latin, Tuscan and Composite, the latter. Written in French by Roland Freart, Sieur de Cambray; made English for the benefit of builders. To which is added, an account of Architects and Architecture, in an historical and etymological explanation of certain terms, particularly affected by Architects. With Leo Baptista Alberti's Treatise of Statutes.' 1664, folio. This work, as well as the former, is dedicated to King Charles II. A second edition of it was published in 1669; a third in 1697; and a fourth in 1733, to which is annexed, 'The Elements of Architecture, collected by Sir Henry Wotton, and also other large additions.' *Μυστηριον της Ανομιας*: that is, another part of the Mystery of Jesuitism; or the new Heresy of the Jesuits, publicly maintained at Paris, in the college of Clermont, the 12th of December, 1661, declared to all the bishops of France, according to the copy printed at Paris, together with the imaginary heresy, in three letters; with divers other particulars relating to this abominable mystery, never before published in English.' 1664, 8vo. This is the only piece of a controversial turn among

Mr. Evelyn's works. 17. 'Kalendarium Hortense; or, the Gardener's Almanac, directing what he is to do monthly throughout the year, and what fruits and flowers are in prime.' 1664, 8vo. The second edition of this work was dedicated to Mr. Cowley, with whom our author maintained a long and inviolable friendship; and it occasioned Mr. Cowley to address to him his mixt essay in prose and verse, intitled 'The Garden.' The Kalendarium Hortense went through a vast number of editions. The author made additions to it as long as he lived, so that the best is that which was printed by way of appendix to the fourth and last edition of the Silva in his life-time; it is also in the fifth edition of that work, printed after his decease.

About this time, the university of Oxford received a noble and lasting testimony of Mr. Evelyn's gratitude to the place of his education; for it was he who prevailed with the Lord Henry Howard to bestow the Arundelian marbles, then remaining in the garden of Arundel-House, in London, on that university. Lord Howard was also strongly importuned by Mr. Evelyn to send to Oxford an exquisite statute of Minerva; but the sudden death of that lord prevented its removal from Arundel-House, in the Strand. Mr. Evelyn spent his time at this juncture in a manner as pleasing as he could wish: he had great credit at court, and great reputation in the world; was one of the commissioners for rebuilding St. Paul's, at-

tended the meetings of the Royal Society with great regularity, and was punctual in the discharge of his office as a commissioner of the sick and wounded. Yet, in the midst of his employments, he found leisure to add fresh labours to those he had already published: as, 18. 'The History of the three late famous Impostors, viz. Padre Ottamano, pretended son and heir to the late grand Seignior; Mahomet Bei, a pretended prince of the Ottoman family, but in truth a Wallachian counterfeit; and Sabbata Levi, the supposed Messiah of the Jews, in the year 1666; with a brief account of the ground and occasion of the present war between the Turk and Venetian: together with the cause and final extirpation, destruction, and exile of the Jews out of the Empire of Persia.' 1668, 8vo. These little histories abound with curious facts; many of which, Mr. Evelyn says, he received from the mouth of a Persian stranger of quality, who had lately resided in London. This work was highly commended in the *Acta Eruditorum Lipsiensium* for the year 1690, with this remarkable circumstance, that the pretended Mahomet Bei was, at that very time, in the city of Leipsic. Sir George Mackenzie, an admired essay writer of that age, having written 'A Panegyric on Solitude,' our author, by way of antidote, published a piece, intitled: 19. 'Public Employment and an active Life, with all its Appanages, preferred to Solitude.' 1667, 12mo.—20. 'An Idea of the Perfection of Painting, demonstrated from the

principles of art, and by examples conformable to the observations which Pliny and Quintilian have made upon the most celebrated pieces of the ancient painters, paralleled with some works of the most famous modern painters, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Julio Romano, and N. Poussin ; written in French by Roland Freart, and now translated.' 1668, 12mo.

In the year 1669, Mr. Evelyn made a journey to Oxford, where he was honoured with a doctor of law's degree, as a mark of gratitude for the credit and service he had done them. To say the truth, he obtained all his honours without any solicitation of his own. Thus, when King Charles II., in order to promote trade, thought proper to erect a board for that purpose, and named several persons of great rank to be members of that council, he likewise appointed Mr. Evelyn to be among them ; who, to express his gratitude for the favour, digested, in a short and plain discourse, the chief heads of the history of trade and navigation, and dedicated it to the king. The title of it runs thus :
21. ' Navigation and Commerce ; their original and progress : containing a succinct account of traffic in general ; its benefits and improvements ; of discoveries, wars, and conflicts at sea, from the original of navigation to this day ; with special regard to the English nation ; their several voyages and expeditions, to the beginning of our late differences with Holland : in which his Majesty's title

to the dominion of the sea, is asserted against the novel and later Pretenders.' 1674, 12mo. The Royal Society having ordered that every member of the council should in his turn pronounce at their several meeting, a discourse on some subject of experimental philosophy, Mr. Evelyn presented them with a treatise, intitled: 22. 'Terra: a Philosophical Discourse of Earth, relating to the culture and improvement of it for vegetation, and the propagation of plants.' This celebrated work was first printed in 1675, since which time it has undergone several impressions. The last edition was published in 1778, in 8vo. with notes by Dr. Hunter. The winter of 1683 being memorably severe, the fine plantations of our author at Sayes-Court suffered irreparable damage; of which he gave a philosophical and pathetic account to the Royal Society the succeeding spring. But the Czar of Muscovy, who afterward resided in this house of Mr. Evelyn, for the sake of being near Deptford-yard, is said to have committed almost as great devastations on his delicious garden as this lamentable frost.

After the accession of King James II., we find Mr. Evelyn, in December, 1685, appointed, with Lord Viscount Tiviot and Colonel Robert Philips, one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord privy-seal, in the absence of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland; which place he held till the 11th of March 1686, when

the king was pleased to make Henry, Baron Arundel, of Wardour, lord privy-seal. He wrote nothing during this reign. After the Revolution, he was made treasurer of Greenwich hospital; and, though he was then much in years, yet he continued to publish treatises upon several subjects: as, 23. 'Mundus Muliebris; or, the Lady's Dressing-room unlocked, and her Toilet spread. In burlesque. Together with the Fop Dictionary, compiled for the use of the fair sex.' 1690, 4to.—24. 'Monsieur de la Quintinye's Treatise of Orange-trees, with the raising of Melons, omitted in the French edition, translated into English.' 1693.—25. 'Numismata: a Discourse of Medals, ancient and modern, together with some account of heads and effigies of illustrious and famous persons, in sculps and taille-douce, of whom we have no medals extant, and of the uses to be derived from them. To which is added, a Digression concerning Physiognomy.' 1697, folio. The connoisseurs look on this treatise as one of the most perfect on the subject in any language; and it is said to be greatly admired by foreigners of taste. We are now arrived at the last publication with which our author enriched the republic of letters; and it is intitled: 26. 'Acetaria; or, a Discourse of Sallets.' 1699, 12mo. It was dedicated to the Lord-Chancellor Somers, at that time President of the Royal Society: and, though Mr. Evelyn was then in his eightieth year, it bears no marks of extreme age or impaired abilities.

Nor had Mr. Evelyn been less generous in imparting his knowledge to others out of his own private collections, than by what he had published for the use of all. He communicated to Mr. Boyle a curious and exact account of the method by which the magazines of snow are preserved in Italy for the use of the tables of the great. The late learned Bishop of London, Dr. Gibson, was furnished by him with those additional remarks on the county of Surry, which are published in his English edition of Camden's *Britannia*. He contributed largely to Mr. Houghton's '*Husbandry and Trade Improved*;' and Mr. Aubrey has testified how often he was indebted to him for his friendly assistance in many of his undertakings. In regard to the Royal Society, he was very assiduous in transmitting to them whatever fell within the compass of his inquiries, and used to style himself, humbly, 'A pioneer in the service of the Royal Society.' He certainly removed many obstructions, and smoothed the roads that led directly to the temple of wisdom and truth. When we consider the number of books he published, and the variety of the subjects on which he employed his time, it is impossible to forbear wondering at his industry and application; and our wonder must be greatly heightened, when we reflect how careful he was in reviewing, correcting, and augmenting all his original works. But this is not all; for he left behind him unfinished, or at least unpublished, works of a more extensive

nature than those that are printed, which had cost him incredible pains, and for which he had made prodigious collections. His great work of all was intended to be called 'A General History of all Trades;' of which we have an account in one of his own letters to Mr. Boyle, where he assigns the reasons for laying it aside. But though he desisted from the original plan, yet it was not till he had finished several parts of it; particularly his Chalcography, which Mr. Boyle prevailed on him to publish, and the following pieces which he never published: 'Five Treatises, containing a full view of the several arts of painting in oil, painting in miniature, annealing in glass, enamelling, and making marble paper;' and 'The Plan of a Royal Garden, describing and shewing the amplitude of that part of Georgics which belongs to Horticulture.'

Full of age and honours, this amiable author died upon the 27th of February, 1705-6, in the 86th year of his age; and was interred at Wotton, under a tomb of about three feet high, of free stone, shaped like a coffin, with an inscription upon the marble with which it is covered, expressing, according to his own intention, that, 'Living in an age of extraordinary events and revolutions, he had learned from thence this truth, which he desired might thus be communicated to posterity: That all is vanity which is not honest: and that there is no solid wisdom but in real piety.' As to the

eulogiums which ingenious and learned men have bestowed upon Mr. Evelyn, they are as numerous as they are great. Mr. Cowley, as we have already observed, inscribed his poem, called 'The Garden,' to him; and has said the highest things of him in the preface to it. Mr. Glanville has given a great character of our author: 'Mr. John Evelyn,' says he, 'hath very considerably advanced the history of fruit and forest trees, by his *Silvia* and *Pomona*; and greater things are expected from his preparations for the *Elysium Britannicum*, a noble design, now under his hands. And certainly the inquisitive world is much indebted to this generous gentleman for his very ingenuous performances in this kind; as also for those others of sculpture, picture, architecture, and the like useful things, with which he hath enriched it.' The learned and judicious Mr. Wotton, in his *Reflections* on ancient and modern learning, speaks of Mr. Evelyn in still higher terms; and says, that 'it may be esteemed a small character of Mr. Evelyn's *Silvia*, or *Discourse of Forest-trees*, to say that it outdoes all that *Theophrastus* and *Pliny* have left us on that subject; for it not only does that and a great deal more, but contains more useful precepts, hints, and discoveries, upon that now so necessary a part of our *Res Rustica*, than the world had till then known from all the observations of former ages.' Bishop Burnet, acknowledging some communications from him, styles him 'a most ingenuous and

virtuous gentleman, who is not satisfied to have advanced the knowledge of this age by his own most useful and successful labours about planting, and divers other ways, but is ready to contribute every thing in his power to perfect other men's endeavours.' Another eminent author, speaking of his *Numismata*, bestows the following character of that book and its author : ' We might justly have expected, whatever could have been desired on this subject, from the excellently learned pen of Mr. Evelyn, had he bent his thoughts, as was believed, toward the consideration of our British coins as well as medals. It now appears, that his *Numismata* carried him no farther than those larger and more choice pieces that are usually called by this latter name, whereon he had indeed treated with that accuracy and fineness which became a gentleman and a scholar.'

By his excellent wife, who survived him about three years, he had five sons and three daughters. Of the latter, only one survived him, Susanna, married to William Draper, of Adscomb, in Surry, Esq. Of the former, all died young except Mr. John Evelyn, the author of many translations both in prose and verse, and of some original compositions in Dryden's *Miscellanies*. He was the father of Sir John Evelyn, created a baronet in 1713, and great grandfather to the late Sir Frederick Evelyn, who resided upon the family estate at Wotton, in Surry.

CURIOUS HISTORICAL PARTICULARS OF LONDON, IN
THE REIGN OF HENRY II.

THE astonishing degree in which the buildings of this great metropolis have of late years increased, and are still continuing to increase, may render an account of it, as it existed at a remote period, a subject of curious contrast to those who are fond of tracing the progress of society from its early rude state to the elegance of modern civilization.

Situation of London.

Among the noble cities of the world, honoured by fame, the city of London is the one principal seat of the kingdom of England, whose renown is spread abroad very far; but she transporteth her wares and commodities much farther, and advanceth her head so much the higher. Happy she is in the wholesomeness of the air, in the Christian religion, her munition also and strength, the nature of her situation, the honour of her citizens, the chastity of her matrons. Very pleasant also in her sports and pastimes, and replenished with honourable personages, all which I think* meet proper severally to consider.

Temperateness of the Air.

In this place the calmness of the air doth mollify men's minds, not corrupting them with vene-

* This account is by William Fitz-Stephen, a monk in the reign of our second Henry, who seems to have considered as magnificent what would now be regarded as abject and contemptible.

real lusts, but preserving them from savage and rude behaviour, and seasoning their inclinations with a more kind and free temper.

Of Christian Religion there.

There is, in the church of St. Paul, a bishop's see : it was formerly a metropolitan, and, as it is thought, shall recover the said dignity again, if the citizens shall return back into the island ; except, perhaps, the archiepiscopal title of St. Thomas the Martyre, and his bodily presence, do perpetuate this honour to Canterbury, where now his relics are. But, seeing St. Thomas hath graced both these cities, namely, London with his birth, and Canterbury with his death, one place may alledge more against the other, in respect to the right of that saint, with the accession of holiness. Now, concerning the worship of God in the Christian faith, there are, in London and the suburbs, thirteen greater conventical churches, beside 126 lesser parish churches (139 churches in all).

Strength and Scite of City.

It has on the east part a tower palatine, very large and very strong ; whose court and walls rise up from a deep foundation ; the mortar is tempered with the blood of beasts. On the west are two castles well fenced. The walls of the city is high and great, continued with seven gates, which are made double, and on the north distinguished with turrets by spaces. Likewise on the south London hath been enclosed with walls and towers,

but the large river of Thames, well stored with fish, and in which the tide ebbs and flows, by continuance of time, hath washed, worn away, and cast down those walls. Farther above, in the west part, the king's palace is eminently seated on the same river; an incomparable building, having a wall before it and some bulwarks: it is two miles from the city, continued with a suburb full of people.

Gardens.

Every where without the houses of the suburbs, the citizens have gardens and orchards planted with trees, large, beautiful, and one joining to another.

Pastures of the Londoners.

On the north side are fields for pasture, and meadows, very pleasant; among which the river waters do flow, and the wheels of the mills are turned about with a delightful noise. Very near lieth a large forest, in which are woody groves of wild beasts; in the covers whereof do lurk bucks and does, wild boars and bulls.

The Fields.

The arable lands are no pieces of gravel ground, but like the rich fields of Asia, which bring plentiful corn, and fill the barns of those that till them, with an excellent crop of the fruits of Ceres.

Their Wells.

There are also about London, on the north of the suburbs, choice fountains of water, sweet, wholesome, and clean, streaming forth among glis-

tening pebble stones: in this number, Holywell, Clerkenwell, and St. Clement's well, are of most note, and frequented above the rest, when scholars and the youth of the city, take the air abroad in the Summer evenings.

The 'Citizens' Honour.'

This city is honoured with her men, graced with her arms, and peopled with a multitude of inhabitants. In the fatal wars under King Stephen, there went out to muster, men fit for war, esteemed to the number of 20,000 horsemen armed, and 60,000 footmen. The citizens of London are known in all places, and respected above all other citizens for their civil demeanor, their good apparel, their table, and their discourse.

Chastity of their Matrons.

The matrons of this city may be paralleled with the Sabine women.

Their Schools.

In London three famous schools are kept at three principal churches, St. Paul's, the Holy Trinity, and St. Martins, which they retain by privilege and ancient dignity; yet, for the most part, by favour of some persons, or some teachers, who are known and famed for their philosophy; there are other schools there upon good will and sufferance. Upon the holidays, the masters, with their scholars, celebrate assemblies at the festival churches. The scholars dispute there for exercise sake; some use demonstrations, others topical and probable argu-

ments ; some practise enthymemes, others do better use perfect syllogisms ; some exercise themselves in dispute for ostentation, which is practised among such as strive together for victory, others dispute for truth, which is the grace of perfection. The sophisters, which are dissemblers, turn verbalists, and are magnified when they overflow in speech and abundance of words ; some also are entrapped with deceitful arguments. Sometimes certain orators, with rhetorical orations, speak handsomely to persuade, being careful to observe the precepts of art, who omit no matter contingent. The boys of divers schools wrangle together in versifying, or canvass the principles of grammar, or dispute the rules of the preterperfect and future tenses. Some there are that in epigrams, rhymes, and verses, use that trivial way of abuse. These do freely abuse their fellows, suppressing their names, with a fescennine railing liberty ; these cast out most abusive jests ; and with Socratical witty expressions, they touch the vices of their fellows, or perhaps of their superiors, or fall upon them with a satirical bitterness, and with bolder reproaches than is fit. The hearers, prepared for laughter, make themselves merry in the meantime.

How the Affairs of the City are disposed.

The several craftsmen, the several sellers of wares, and workmen for hire, are all distinguished every morning by themselves, in their places

as well as trades. Besides, there is in London, upon the river's bank, a public place of cookery, among the wines to be sold in the ships, and in the wine cellars. There every day we may call for any dish of meat, roast, fried, or boiled; fish both small and great; ordinary flesh for the poorer sort, and more dainty for the rich, as venison and fowl. If friends come upon a sudden, wearied with travel, to a citizen's house, and they be loth to wait for curious preparations and dressings of fresh meat, let the servants give them water to wash, and bread to stay their stomach, and in the mean time they run to the water-side, where all things that can be desired are at hand. Whatsoever multitude of soldiers, or other strangers enter the city, at any hour of the day or night, or else are about to depart, they may turn in, bait here, and refresh themselves to their content, and so avoid long fasting, and not go away without their dinner. If any desire to fit their dainty tooth, they take a goose; they need not to long for the fowl of Africa, no, nor the rare Godwit of Ionia. This is the public cookery, and very convenient for the state of the city, and belongs to it. Hence it is we read in Plato's *Gorgias*, that, next to the physician's art, is the trade of cooks.

Smithfield.

Without one of the gates is a certain field, plain (or smooth,) both in name and situation. Every Friday, except some greater festival come in the

way, there is a fine sight of good horse to be sold ; many come out of the city to buy or look on, to wit, earls, barons, knights, citizens, all resorting thither. It is a pleasant sight there to behold the animals, well fleshed, sleek, and shining, delightfully walking, and their feet on either side up and down together by turns ; or else trotting horses, which are more convenient for men that bear arms ; these, although they set a little harder, go away readily, and lift up and set down together the contrary feet on either side. Here are also young colts of a good breed, that have not been well accustomed to the bridle ; these fling about, and by mounting bravely shew their mettle. Here are principal horses, strong and well limbed. Here also are breast-horses, perhaps race-horses, fit to be joined by couples, very fair and handsome, and sleek about the ears, carry their necks aloft, being well fleshed, and round about the buttocks. In another part stand the country people with cattle, and the commodities of the field, large swine, and kine with their udders strutting out, fair bodied oxen, and the woolly flock. There are also cart-horses, fit for the dray, or the plough, or the chariot ; and some mares big with foal ; together with others that have their wanton colts following them close at their side.

Concerning Shipping and Merchandize.

To this city, merchants bring in wares by ships from every nation under heaven. The Arabian

sends his gold, the Sabeen his frankincense and spices, the Scythian, arms ; oil of palms from the plentiful wood ; Babylon, her fat oil, and Nylus her precious stones ; the Seres send purple garments ; they of Norway and Russia, trouts, furs, and sables, and the French their wines.

Antiquity and Government, &c.

According to the reports of chronicles, London is more ancient than the city of Rome ; both being descended from the same Trojan stock ; Brute builded this, before Remus and Romulus did the other. Whence still it useth the same ancient laws and common institutions. For this our city, like to that, is distinguished by wards and several limits ; it has sheriffs every year, answerable to their consuls ; it hath aldermen, enjoying the dignity of senators, beside inferior magistrates ; it hath also common-sewers, and conveyances for water in the streets. Concerning causes in question, there are several places and courts for causes deliberative, demonstrative, and judicial ; upon their set days also, they have their common council and great assemblies.

The only plagues of London are immoderate drinking of idle fellows, and frequent fires.

Sports and Pastimes.

Every Sunday in Lent, after dinner, a company of young men ride out into the fields on horses which are fit for war, and principal runners ; every

one among them is taught to run the rounds with his horse.

The citizens' sons issue out through the gates by troops, furnished with lances and warlike shields ; the younger sort have their pikes, not headed with iron, where they make a representation of battle, and exercise a skirmish. There resort to this exercise many courtiers, when the king lies near hand, and young striplings out of the families of barons, and great persons, which have not yet attained to the warlike girdle, to train and skirmish. Hope of victory inflames every one ; the neighing and fierce horses bestir their joints, and chew their bridles, and cannot endure to stand still ; at last they begin their race, and then the young men divide their troops ; some labour to outstrip their leaders, and cannot reach them ; others fling down their fellows, and get beyond them.

In Easter holidays they counterfeit a sea-fight ; a pole is set up in the middle of the river, with a target well fastened thereon ; and a young man stands in a boat, which is rowed with oars, and driven with the tide, who with his spear hits the target in his passage ; with which blow, if he breaks the spear and stands upright, so that he holds his footing, he has his desire ; but if his spear remain unbroken by the blow, he is tumbled into the water, and his boat passeth clear away ; but on the other side this target, two ships stand in-ward,

with many young men ready to take him up after he is sunk, and soon as he appeareth again on the top of the water ; the spectators stand upon the bridge, and in scullers upon the river, to behold these things, being prepared for laughter.

Upon the holidays all Summer, the youth is exercised in leaping, shooting, wrestling, casting of stones, and throwing of javelins, fitted with loops for the purpose, which they strive to fling beyond the mark ; they also use bucklers, like fighting men. As for the maidens, they have their exercise of dancing and tripping till moon-light.

In winter, almost every holiday, before dinner, the foaming boars fight for their heads, and prepare with deadly tusks to be made beam ; or else some lusty bulls or huge bears, are baited with dogs.

When that great moor, which washed Moor-fields, at the north wall of the city, is frozen over, great companies of young men go to sport upon the ice, and bind to their shoes bones, as the legs of some beasts, and hold stakes in their hands, headed with sharp iron, which sometimes they strike against the ice, and these men go on with speed, as doth a bird in the air, or darts shot from some warlike engine ; sometimes two men set themselves at a distance, and run one against another, as it were at tilt, with these stakes, where-with one or both parties are thrown down, not without some hurt to their bodies ; and after their

fall, by reason of their violent motion, are carried a good distance from one another; and wheresoever the ice doth touch their head, it rubs off all the skin and lays it bare; and if one fall upon his leg or arm, it is usually broken; but young men being greedy of honour and desirous of victory, do thus exercise themselves in counterfeit battles, that they may bear the brunt more strongly when they come to it in good earnest. Many citizens take great delight in birds, as sparrow-hawks, goose-hawks, and such like, and in dogs to hunt in the woody ground. The citizens have authority to hunt in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and all the Chilterns, and in Kent as far as Gray-water.

Natives of London.

The city of London hath brought forth some who have subdued many kingdoms, and the empire of Rome to themselves; and many others, who being lords of this world, were deified in another.

And in the times of Christianity it brought forth the noble Emperor Constantine, who gave the city of Rome, and all the imperial arms to God, and to St. Peter, and Sylvester the Pope, whose stirrup he refused not to hold, and pleased rather to be called Defender of the holy Roman Church, than Emperor of the World. And lest the peace of our lord the Pope should suffer any disturbance by the noise of secular affairs, he left the city, and bestowed it on the Pope, and founded the city of Constantinople for his own habitation. London also in

these latter times, hath brought forth famous and magnificent princes. Maud, the Empress, King Richard III., and Thomas the Archbishop, a glorious martyr of Christ, than whom no man was more innocent, or more devoted to the general good of the Latin world.

HISTORICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, and MORAL VIEW of
the ANCIENT and MODERN STATE of the METRO-
POLIS: With OBSERVATIONS on the CIRCUMAD-
JACENT COUNTIES, ANECDOTES, &c. By JOSEPH
MOSER, ESQ.

The Parish Church of St. Peter, Cornhill.

THAT very large buildings had, in times far remote, occupied the vicinity of this church, is certain, from the discoveries of many Roman vestiges that have been made, not only under the ruins left by the fire of London, but under those left by a conflagration which, although not so extensively destructive, was, in the contracted limits of its devastation, equally dreadful; we mean, the fire that happened in the course of the night of Thursday, Nov. 7, 1765, and in consequence of a most extraordinary variation of the wind, that, raging east, west, north, and south, destroyed the four corners of *Cornhill*, &c. viz. *Gracechurch-Street*, *Leadenhall*, and *Bishopgate-Streets*, left a very considerable space*, in the clearing of which, and digging

* The space that was left by this dreadful conflagration, fully justifies and exemplifies the opinion of that ancient civic historian,

trenches for the foundation of the new houses that now adorn that spot, many Roman bricks, tiles,

Fitzstephen, who asserts, that one of the great evils of London was, its danger from accidental fires ; but at the time the learned monk wrote, fires might, as appears by the precautions that were, even then, taken to avoid them, have been expected in narrow lanes ; and among cottages built of wood, and thatched with straw, they consequently happened. The order of council for building houses with brick and stone, and covering them with tiles, slate, or lead, afforded some degree of security ; yet fires continued to prevail, and, till the general conflagration, which nearly destroyed the whole, parts of the city were occasionally devastated. It would be to little purpose to inquire, whether fires have, in the course of the last century, or since the passing of the Building Act *, which was intended to be a kind of legislative insurance, without premium, been less frequent than before ; it may, therefore, for our present purpose, be sufficient to observe, that, of all parts of the town, Cornhill and its vicinity seem peculiarly to have suffered from the rage of that destructive element, as, besides three other fires in the course of a few years, its inhabitants had to lament the devastation caused by that to which we have adverted, which beginning about two o'clock in the morning, at the house of Mr. Rutland, peruke-maker, one door from the north-east corner of Bishopsgate-street, spread to the parish church of St. Martin Outwick (the steeple of which it damaged,) and so through into Threadneedle-street, and on the other side the way to almost as far. In the front of Cornhill north from the Bull-inn, east to Sun-court west, two houses at the east corner of Gracechurch-street, the house of Angell, pastry-cook, at the west damaged ; the said fire consuming forty-nine houses, and deteriorating about fifteen more ; so that, a few days after it was extinguished, the spot whereon it had raged presented a scene which we well remember, and, such was the terrific impression its ruins made upon our mind, ever shall remember ! Many of the houses destroyed were ancient and large ; therefore their impending walls, shaking roofs, and unsupported chimneys, their caverned vaults, &c.

* Stat. 14. Geo. III.

&c. were discovered ; and, what was more remarkable, walls, evidently Saxon, were found placed longitudinally, and in transverse directions ; from which it was conjectured, nay almost ascertained, that large buildings had once occupied the site of the present highways of those four principal streets : and the opinion of an ingenious architect*, who had made some progress in his endeavours to ascertain the plan of the Roman Augusta, was, that this spot formed the central point of that celebrated colonial city.

It has, upon the authority of an inscription on the south pillar, been said, that the small parish-church of St. Peter, Cornhill, termed, from its vane, the civic key, is the oldest in London ; that King Lucius made it contracted in its dimensions, as, even then, it probably was the metropolitan centre of an archiepiscopal see, founded A. D. 179, and removed to Canterbury by St. Austin, after it had continued four hundred years. This Christian church is further stated to have arisen upon the site of a Roman temple. Be this as it may, it certainly is of high antiquity, inasmuch as it is historically said to have been the ecclesiastical father of the abbey-church of St. Peter, Westminster, and also to have been the first edifice of this kind in Britain

threatened destruction to the crowds that pressed to view the dreadful spectacle ; nor was, indeed, their adventurous curiosity unattended with real danger, for many accidents happened, although every possible precaution was taken to prevent them.

* The late Mr. Gwinn.

dedicated to the patron of the Holy See. It is, as its addition indicates, situated in Cornhill, and once stood betwixt the Grass, or Hay, Market, and the Corn Market *; a circumstance which, in early ages, rendered it convenient for chapmen and others to perform those duties which their religion prescribed, and for the reception of which the piety of their ancestors had provided proper offertories.

A considerable majority of the monuments in the church of St. Peter, Cornhill, it must be observed, were erected to the memory of drapers and merchant-tailors; a circumstance that accurately marks the predominant trade of the parish.

* The connexions betwixt markets and churches, in ancient times, was so intimate, that in the grants of abbies, the establishment of a market, and sometimes of a fair, were principal features: in all the monastic charters they are still more strongly insisted upon: from the circumstance which invested the reverend crozier and the holy mitre with feudal privileges, a great number of corporate and market-towns in England have arisen; although it must be observed, that the association of devotion and traffic, in many obvious instances, did not escape the observation of the wits, for wits have existed in all ages and in all places; and deficiencies in weights and measures have, we fear, in markets, been coeval. Hence, to impress an idea of the certainty of any fact or promise, it was said, "As sure as the devil looks over Lincoln;" "As sure as the devils at London;" and

"Wherever they erect a house of prayer,

The devil's sure to build a chapel * there;"

with many other proverbs and adages, equally ingenious.

* Market-house.

Observations on the Parish-church of St. Andrew Undershaft, Cornhill.

The parishes of St. Mary-at-Axe and St. Andrew Undershaft were, by letters patent, 4 Eliz. (1561,) united ; in consequence of which, considerable repairs were made and ornaments executed, in the latter * ; so that, from being one of the plainest and the most homely, it became, for its size, one of the handsomest churches in the eastern part of the metropolis. Antecedent to the Reformation, although, in London, perhaps, the far greater number of the churches were paved ; yet in many of them, the seating, as it was termed, consisted, as had from the most ancient times been the fashion, of a regular arrangement of plain benches. Moveable stools also were sometimes used †. Stow observes, that about the year 1520, half the church of St. Andrew Undershaft was rebuilt by Stephen Jennings (or Jennings ‡,) Mayor of London, “ and the pews in the south chapell made of his costs, as appeareth in every window, and upon the said pews §.” *Survey Lond.* p. 109, ed. 1599.

* The church of St. Andrew Undershaft was entirely new built, and, in the year 1532, finished, at the charge of William Fitzwilliams, Esq. (sheriff of London, in the year 1506,) and afterward of council to King Henry VIII.

† And are still used in the Roman Catholic churches abroad ; where processional rites and other ceremonies frequently render an unobstructed space absolutely necessary.

‡ Sir Stephen Jennings, sheriff of London, 1498.—Mayor, 1508.

§ That is, he furnished the south chapel with a set of uniform

It is, as it shews the progress of luxury, and, consequently, of its concomitant, effeminacy, a cu-

benches, or *subsellia*, for the general use of the parishioners. Before the Reformation, legacies were often bequeathed for seating a church in this manner. Bloomfield cites, that about the year 1502, different sums of money were left for stolyng various parts of the church of Swaffham, in Norfolk, the choir being fitted up with stalls.—*Hist. Norf.* iii. 511. This is, as explained, for stooling and benching various parts of the church, particularly for making “all the gret stolys of both sydes the myd aley.—p. 512. Lord Bacon somewhere says, “that Thomas More, when at mass, sat in the chancel, and his lady in a pew. He means, that she sat in one of the common parish seats without, and he in the nave.” We take it, that Lord Bacon means directly the reverse: however, let us have it as it is stated in the life of Sir Thomas:—“Sir Thomas Moore, who was a great benefactor to the church of Chelsea, constantly attended divine service there, and frequently assisted at its celebration. The Duke of Norfolk coming, one day, to dine with him, while he was Chancellor, found him at church, wearing a surplice, and singing with the quire: ‘God’s body, my Lord Chancellor,’ said the Duke, as they returned to the house, ‘what, a parish-clerk! you dishonour the king and his office’—‘Nay,’ said Sir Thomas, ‘you may not think so! your master and mine will not be offended with me for serving God, his master, or thereby count his office dishonoured.’

“The morning after he had resigned the great seal, he went to Chelsea Church, with his lady and family, where, during divine service, he sat as usual in the quire, wearing a surplice; and because it had been a custom, after mass was done, for one of his gentlemen to go to his lady’s pew, and say, ‘My lord is gone before,’ he came now himself, and, making a low bow, said, ‘Madam, my Lord is gone.’ She, thinking it to be no more than his usual humour, took no notice of it; but in the way home, to her great mortification, he unriddled the jest, by acquainting her with what he had done the preceding day.”—*More’s Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 186.

rious circumstance, that when the custom of having pews in the churches began to spread, they were, by our hardy ancestors, considered as too great indulgencies, as temptations to repose. Their curtains and bed-furniture, their cushions, and sleep, have, by a long association of ideas, become intimately connected; they were not, although begun in that of St. Andrew Undershaft, much known in our parochial churches until after the Reformation*; but the objections then made to those spiritual dormitories in London† were then very numerous; of which the following is, we think, the most important, viz. Weaver, a writer well known, and very generally esteemed, who lived in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. speaking of epitaphs, some cut in stone and others engraved in brass, such as used, in a manner the most interesting, to be seen on the pavements of the churches in and about London, has the following passage:—"Many monuments are couverd with seates, or pewes, made high and easie for parishioners to sit or sleepe in; a fashion of no long continuance, and worthy of reformation‡."—*Fun. Mon.* p. 701. edit. 1631.

* The Puritans, elegant in their ideas, thought pews the devil's baby, or booby hutches.

† And, indeed, to those of churches in most parts of the country.

‡ In modern times, we find the following objections to pews:

"Should our sex take it into their heads to wear trunk breeches at church, and who knows to what they may be driven in their re-

The covering the monumental brasses and inscriptions was not the whole of the objection that might have been made to the pewing of St. Andrew Undershaft, at the time that the worthy magistrate, whom we have mentioned, was induced to begin the work ; for the erecting the pews gave the workmen an opportunity to consider the commemorative brasses as useless in their then situation ; they, therefore, tore them away for the sake of the metal ; a practice which, we are sorry to observe, has been very general, not only in our metropolitan but country churches, and which has caused the obliteration and total oblivion of many valuable memorials connected with names and families. The few that had still remained in the church of St. Andrew, were probably destroyed at the time that it was new paved, in 1704. Among those were memorials of the following persons, *viz.*

- Philip Malpas, Esq. sheriff, buried in 1439.
- Sir Robert Denne and his son, in 1421.
- Nicholas Levison, Esq. one of the sheriffs, 1534.
- Stephen Kyrton, alderman, 1553.

venge upon hoop petticoats, a man and his wife would fill a whole pew."—*Addison*.

"She decently in form pays heav'n its due,
And makes a civil visit to her pew."—*Young*.

A Lawyer's Pew.

"He found him mounted in his pew,
With books and money placed for shew,
Like nest eggs to make clients lay,
And for his false opinions pay."—*Hudibras*.

David Woodroffe, one of the sheriffs, 1554.

Stephen Woodroffe, his son.

On brasses in the middle aisle :

Nicholia de Nale, “*Ragusini Caro hoc in Tumulo repulverescit. Spiritus ad Cœlum reversus reassumptionem carnis expectat**.—Obit die 1 Januarii. 1566. A nativitate vixit An 50 Mens—7—Dies 29. Augustinus amantissimo fratri mærens ponere curavit.”

Henry Man, D. D. of Oxford, Bishop of Soder and Man, died 19 Oct^r 1556. Buried under this stone.

Thomas Starkey, Esq. sheriff 1578.

Hugh Offly, Esq. sheriff 1588.

A mural inscription to the memory of Simon Burton, wax-chandler, common-councilman, &c. † aged 85 years, buried 1593.

It is impossible to leave this church, which is in its construction curious, and the more curious as its external architecture and interior decorations, however the former may have been improved and the latter embellished, are, in consequence of its having, though very narrowly, escaped the fire of London, still to be considered as specimens of the ancient plan of constructing and embellishing ecclesiastical edifices, without recurring to the mo-

* From this mark it is, in a MS. before us, said, “gone, the brass being torne away,” 1734.

† He was, it appears, a man of great liberality, and rendered himself conspicuous by his benefactions to the poor.

numment and figure of a man to whom the city of London is almost wholly indebted for the preservation of its records relative to its wards, parishes, palaces, public edifices, monuments, charters, customs, privileges, arms, &c. &c. &c. and to whom the modern civic historians owe their literary existence. The reader will here anticipate, that we advert to the learned, the laborious, the indefatigable *John Stow*, who is, as we have before observed, in a monumental memorial in this church, sitting deeply immersed in study, with a table before him, on which lieth a book open. His aspect is venerable, his head bald, his beard short and white *, and his hair also short above his ears. This monument, which, if we consider the person it commemorates, is one of the most remarkable in the city of London, is of marble; over the head of the figure, which we have already stated to be of *terra*

* So did the figure of John Stow appear antecedent to the late repair of the church; at which time, those that had the superintendence of the embellishments, forgetting that, at the time the model was taken, the subject of it was fast approaching to the age of eighty, and that, therefore, white hair and beard were certainly more natural and more reverend, resolved to give to the head of Stow a youthful tinge, which it was next to impossible could then have belonged to it; they accordingly ordered the hair and beard to be coloured black: a circumstance which, as we are not quite certain but the figure is taken by compression, or rather casting, after the decease of the object, and is what the sculptors term a mask, must, in a great measure, destroy the temporaneous symmetry of the resemblance.

eotta *, (burned clay †,) are these words, painted in letters of gold, upon a black ground :

Aut Scribenda

Aut Legenda

Agere

Scribere.

Above which is a cornice, surmounted by the arms of the company of the Merchant Tailors, and on the monumental base this epitaph :

Memoria Sacra.

Resurrectionem in Christo hic expectat Johannes Stowe civis Londinensis : Qui in Antiquis Monumentis eruendis accuratissima diligentia usus Angliæ Annales & Civitatis Londini synopsis bene de sua, bene de postera ætate meritis luculenter scripsit ; vitaq : studio, pie et probe, decurso, Obiit Ætatis Anno 80, die 5 Aprilis 1605.

Elizabetha conjux ut perpetuum sui amoris Testimonium dolens.—Vide Life of Stow, Vol. I.

Account of the Lord Mayor's Show, and the Giants in Guildhall.—(Hone's Mysteries.)

THE Lord Mayor's Show is the only State Exhibition in the metropolis that remains as a memorial of the great doings in the time of the Pageants. The following is part of a description of it in 1575 (by William Smyth, citizen and haberdasher.) Af-

* It has been remarked, that this figure appears smaller than the life ; a circumstance that might very well have happened, although it had been modelled of the same size, which it was not, because potter's clay, of which it is composed, shrinks at least a twelfth part in the burning.

† Styre.

ter the banners, &c. and LXX or LXXX poore men marching two and two, in blue gowns, with red sleeves and caps, every one bearing a pike and a target, &c.

“ Then a set of hautboys playing, and after them certain *wyfflers**, in velvet coats and chains of gold, with white staves in their hands; then the *Pageant of Triumph*, richly decked, whereupon, by certain figures and writings, some matters touching Justice and the office of a magistrate, is represented. Then sixteen trumpeters, eight and eight, having banners of the mayor's company. Then certain *wyfflers* in velvet coats and chains, with white staves, as before. Then the bachelors, two and two, in long gowns, with crimson hoods on their shoulders of satin; which bachelors are chosen every year of the same company that the mayor is of, (but not of the living) and serve as gentlemen on that and other festival days, to wait on the mayor, being in number according to the quantity of the company, sometimes sixty, or one hundred. After them twelve trumpeters more, with banners of the mayor's company; then the drum and flute of the city, and an ensign of the mayor's company; and after, the waits of the city in blue gowns, red sleeves and caps, every one having a silver collar about his neck. Then they of the livery in their long gowns, every one having his hood on his left shoulder, half black and half red, the number of them according

* Fifers.

to the greatness of the company whereof they are. After them follow sheriff's officers, and then the mayor's officers, with other officers of the city, as the Common Sergeant and the Chamberlain; next before the mayor goeth the sword-bearer, having on his head the cap of honour, and the sword of the city in his right hand, in a rich scabbard set with pearl; and on his left hand goeth the common crier of the city, with his great mace on his shoulder all gilt. The mayor hath on a long gown of scarlet, and on his left shoulder a hood of black velvet, and a rich collar of gold of SS. about his neck, and with him rideth the old mayor also, in his scarlet gown, hood of velvet, and a chain of gold about his neck. Then all the aldermen, two and two, (among whom is the Recorder,) all in scarlet gowns; those that have been mayors have chains of gold, the others have black velvet tippets. The two sheriffs come last of all, in their black scarlet gowns, and chains of gold. In this order they pass along through the city to the Guildhall, where they dine that day to the number of 1000 persons, all at the charge of the mayor and the two sheriffs. This feast costeth 400*l.*, whereof the mayor payeth 200*l.*, and each of the sheriffs 100*l.* Immediately after dinner, they go to St. Paul's church, every one of the aforesaid poor men bearing staffs, torches, and targets, which torches are lighted when it is late before they come from evening prayer."

To this account from the MS. may be added, that in still more ancient times the procession to and from Westminster was by land, until, in 1453, Sir John Norman built a sumptuous barge at his own expense, for the purpose of going by water; when the watermen made a song in his praise, beginning, '*Row thy boat, Norman;*' and the twelve companies, emulating their chief, have, from that period, graced the Thames on Lord Mayor's Day.

"Mr. Stephen Jones, in his edition of the *Biographia Dramatica*, has drawn up a list of printed descriptions of the *London Triumphs*, or Lord Mayors' Shows, from whence it seems that the first account of this annual exhibition known to have been published, was written by George Peele, for the inauguration of Sir Wolstone Dixie, Knight, on the 29th of October, 1585, when children personified the City, Magnanimity, Loyalty, Science, the Country, and the River Thames. They also represented a soldier, a sailor, and nymphs, with appropriate speeches. The show opened with a moor on the back of a Lynx. On Sir Thomas Middleton's Mayoralty, in 1613, the solemnity is described as unparalleled for the cost, art, magnificence of the shows, pageants, chariots, morning, noon, and night triumphs. In 1655, the city pageants, after a discontinuance of about fourteen years, were revived. Edmund Gayton, the author of the description for that year, says, that 'our metropolis, for these planetary pageants, was as famous and re-

nowned in foreign nations, as for their faith, wealth, and valour.' In the show of 1659, an European, an Egyptian, and a Persian were personated. On Lord Mayor's Day, 1671, the king, queen, and duke of York, and most of the nobility being present, there were sundry shows, shapes, scenes, speeches, and songs, in parts; and the like in 1672 and 1673, when the king again 'graced the triumph.' - - -

In 1689, *inter alia*, "the pensioners and banners who went not to Westminster, being set in order to march, the foot-marshall in the rear of the artillery company, leads the way along by the channel up Ludgate-hill, through Lud-gate, into St. Paul's Church-yard, and so into Cheapside, where his lordship is entertained by the *first pageant*, consisting of a large stage, with the coat armour of the merchant taylors' company, eminently erected, consisting of a large tent royal, *gules*, fringed and richly garnished, *or*, lined, faced, and doubled, *ermine*. This stage is winged or flanked by two other stages, bearing two excellent figures of lively carved camels, the supporters to the canopy's coat. On the back of one camel, a black native Indian, in a golden robe, a purple mantle fringed with gold, pearl pendants in his ears, coronet of gold with feathers, and golden buskins laced with scarlet ribbon, holds a golden bridle in his left, and a banner of the company, representing *Treasure*, in his right hand. On the other camel, a West Indian, in

a robe of silver, scarlet mantle, diamonds pendant from his ears, buskins of silver laced with purple ribbon, a golden crown feathered, holds a silver bridle in his left, and a banner of the Lord Mayor's, representing *Traffic*, in his right hand. On one of the camel stages four figures sit on pedestals, one at each corner, representing *Diligence*, *Industry*, *Ingenuity*, and *Success*; on the other camel-stage, in like manner, *Mediocrity*, *Amity*, *Verity*, *Variety*, all richly habited in silk or sarcenet, bear splendid emblems and banners. The royal tent, or imperial pavilion, between these two stages, is supported on one side by a minister of state representing *Royalty*, and on the other side by another representing *Loyalty*; each in rich robes of honor *gules*, wearing on their left arms shields *azure*, with this motto in gold, *For the king and kingdom*; one bearing a banner of the king's, and the other one of the city's banners. On a high and eminent seat of throne-like ascension, is seated *Sovereignty* in royal posture and alone, with black curled hair, wearing an imperial crown, a robe of purple velvet, lined, faced, and caped with ermine, a collar of SS. with a George pendants; bearing in one hand a golden globe, in the other a royal sceptre. On a seat beneath, are *Principality*, *Nobility*, and *Honour*, all richly habited. On the next seat, gradually descending beneath, are, 1. *Gentility* shaped like a scholar and soldier, holding in one hand, clad with a golden gauntlet, a silver spear, in the other a book; 2. *In-*

tegrity, wearing an earl's coronet for the court, a loose robe of scarlet-coloured silk for the city, underneath a close coat of grass green plush for the country; 3. *Commonalty*, as a knight of the shire in parliamentary robes. On the lowest seat *an ancient English Hero*, with brown curling hair, in ancient armour, as worn by chief commanders, the coat of mail richly gilt, crimson and velvet scarf fringed with gold, a quiver of arrows in a gold belt on one side, a sword at the other, buskins laced with silver and gold, a silver helmet with red and white plume; in one hand a large long bow, and a spear in the other. This personage, representing *Sir John Hawkwood*, a merchant-tailor of martial renown under Edward III., when he conquered France, as soon as he perceives the lord mayor prepared, with attention riseth up, and with a martial bow exhibiteth a speech in verse of thirty-seven lines, in compliment to the merchant-tailors and the lord mayor. His lordship, testifying his approbation, rideth with his brethren through the throng of spectators, till, at Milk-street end, he is intercepted by *The second Pageant*, which is a chariot of ovation, or peaceful triumph, adorned with delightful pieces of curious painting, and drawn by a golden lion and a lamb. On the lion is mounted a young negro prince, richly habited, according to the royal mode in India, holding a golden bridle, and in the other hand St. George's banner, representing *Power*. On the lamb is mounted a white beautiful

seraphim-like creature, with long, bright, flaxen, curled hair, and on it a golden coronet of cherubim's heads and wings, a carnation sarcenet robe, with a silver mantle, and wings of gold, silver, purple, and scarlet, reining the lamb by a silver bridle in his left hand, and with his right bearing an angelical staff, charged with a red cross, representing *Clemency*. In the chariot sitteth seven persons, 1. *Concordia*, 2. *Unanimia*, 3. *Pacifica*, 4. *Consentania*, 5. *Melodia*, 6. *Benevolentia*, (whose habits, and those of other characters already and hereafter mentioned, are not described here for want of room,) and, 7. *Harmonia*, a lady of great gravity, with masculine aspect, wearing a lovely dark brown peruke, curiously curled, on which is planted a crown imperial; she wears a robe of French green velvet, pleasantly embroidered with gold, a crimson-coloured silk and silver mantle, and sitting majestically alone in front, upon the approach and fixation of my lord mayor, improves the opportunity, riseth up, and delivereth an oration, of forty-four lines in verse, wherein she acquaints his lordship that the other characters are her attributes, recommends unity, because division is the policy of the Pope and the Jesuits, expresses her belief that if the lion and the lamb fall out, she should run to ruin, descants upon magistrate-like virtues, and in the end tells his lordship,

You have done all things fair, no actions foul,
Your shrevalry gave relish of good rule,

Nor need they doubt your mayoralty, therefore,
 Begging your pardon, I shall say no more.

This speech being concluded, his lordship exhibiting a gracious aspect of favourable acceptance, advanceth further towards Guildhall, but is civilly obstructed by another scene, and in regard his lordship is a merchant, and his company merchant-tailors, the *Third Triumphal Scene* or *Pageant*, is a ship called the *Patience*, with masts and sails, fully rigged and manned, the *captain* whereof addresseth to my lord a speech, beginning,

What cheer, my lord? I am return'd from sea,
 To amplify your day of Jubilee,
 In this tried vessel, &c.

His lordship having surveyed the ship, and the trumpets sounding, he continueth his determined course towards Guildhall, but by the way is once more obstructed by another scene, called the *Palace of Pleasure*, which is a triumphal Ionic arch of excellent structure, where, in distinct and perspicuous situations, sitteth nine beautiful and pleasant ladies, whose names, natures, and ornaments are consensaneous, 1. *Jollity*, 2. *Delight*, 3. *Fancy*, 4. *Felicity*, 5. *Wit*, 6. *Invention*, 7. *Tumult*, 8. *Slaughter*, 9. *Gladness*; all of them properly enrobed and adorned; and to augment their delight, there are several persons properly habited, playing on sundry loud instruments of music, one of which, with a voice as loud and as tunable as a treble hautboy, chanteth out a *Ditty in commendation of the Merchant-tailors' Trade*, commencing thus,

Of all the professions that ever were nam'd,

The Taylers, though slighted, is much to be fam'd :

For various Invention and Antiquity,

No Trade with the *Taylers* compared may be :

For warmth and distinction and Fashion he doth

Provide for both Sexes with Silk, Stuff, and Cloth :

Then do not disdain him, or slight him, or flout him,

Since (if well consider'd) you can't live without him.

But let all due praises (that can be) be made

To honour and dignifie the *Taylers* trade.

When Adam and Eve out of Eden were hurl'd,

They were at that time king and queen of the world ;

Yet this royal couple were forced to play

The *Taylers*, and put themselves in green array ;

For Modesty and for Necessity's sake

They had Figs for the Belly and leaves for the Back ;

And afterwards Clothing of Sheep skins they made.

Then judge if a *Tayler* was not the first Trade,

The oldest profession ; and they are but Raylers,

Who scoff and deride men that be *Merchant Taylers*.

This song, containing five more verses, being ended, the foot-marshal places the assistants, livery, and the companies on both sides of King-street, and the pensioners with their targets hung on the tops of the javelins ; in the rear of them the ensign-bearers ; drums and fifes in front ; he then hastens the foins and budge-bachelors, together with the gentlemen ushers, to Guildhall, where his Lordship is again saluted by the artillery-men with three volleys more, which concludes their duty. His land attendants pass through the gallery or lane so made, into Guildhall ; after which the company repairs to dinner in the hall, and the several silk-

works and triumphs are likewise conveyed into Blackwell-hall ; and the officers aforesaid, and the children that sit in the pageants, there refresh themselves until his lordship hath dined. At the dinner in Guildhall, his Lordship and the guests being all seated, the city music begin to touch their instruments with very artful fingers. Their ears being as well feasted as their palates, and a concert lesson or two succeeding, ‘ a sober person with a good voice, grave humour, and audible utterance, proper to the condition of the times,’ sings a song called *The Protestants’ Exhortation*, the burden whereof is, *Love one another*, and the subject against the Catholics. The song being ended, the musicians play divers new airs, which having done, three or four ‘ habit themselves according to the humour of the song,’ and one of them chanteth forth *The Plotting Papist’s Litany*, in ten stanzas, the first of which ends with

Joyntly then wee’l agree
To sing a Litany,
And let the burden be,
Ora pro nobis.

The *Litany* concluded, and night approaching, the festival terminates.”

From these specimens the genius of the spectacles may be fully appreciated.

“ At the alteration of the style, the Lord Mayor’s Show, which had been on the 29th of October, was changed to the 9th of November. The speeches in the pageants were usually composed by the City

Poet, an officer of the corporation, with an annual salary, who provided a printed description for the members of the corporation before the day. Settle, the last City Poet, wrote the last pamphlet intended to describe a Lord Mayor's Show; it was for Sir Charles Duncombe's, in 1708; but the Prince of Denmark's death the day before, prevented the exhibition. The last Lord Mayor who rode on horseback at his mayoralty was Sir Gilbert Heathcote, in the reign of queen Anne.

“The modern exhibitions, bettered as they are by the men in armour under Mr. Marriott's judicious management, have no pretension to vie with the grandeur of the ‘London Triumphs.’

The Giants in Guildhall.

“All that remains of the Lord Mayor's Show, to remind the curiously-informed of its ancient character, is in the first part of the procession. These are the poor men of the company to which the Lord Mayor belongs, habited in long gowns and close caps of the company's colour, bearing painted shields on their arms, but without javelins. Even the giants in Guildhall, elevated upon octagon stone columns, to watch and ward the great east window, stand unrecognised, except in their gigantic capacity.

“Hatton, whose *New View of London* bears the date of 1708, says in that work, ‘This stately hall being much damnify'd by the unhappy conflagration of the city in 1666, was rebuilt anno 1669, and

extremely well beautified and repaired both in and outside, which cost about 2500*l*. and two *new* Figures of Gigantic Magnitude will be *as before*.' Presuming on the ephemeral information of his readers at the time he published, Hatton has obscured his information by a brevity, which leaves us to suppose that the giants were destroyed when Guildhall was 'much damnify'd' by the fire of London in 1666; and that from that period they had not been replaced. Yet it is certain that giants were there in 1699, when Ned Ward published his *London Spy*. Describing a visit to Guildhall, he says, 'We turned down King-Street, and came to the place intended, which we entered with as great astonishment to see the giants, as the Morocco Ambassador did London when he saw the snow fall. I asked my friend the meaning and design of setting up those two lubberly preposterous figures; for I suppose they had some peculiar end in it. Truly, says my friend, I am wholly ignorant of what they intended by them, unless they were set up to show the city what huge boobies their forefathers were, or else to fright stubborn apprentices into obedience; for the dread of appearing before two such monstrous loggerheads, will sooner reform their manners, or mould them into a compliance with their masters' will, than carrying them before my Lord Mayor, or the Chamberlain of London; for some of them are as much frightened at the names of *Gog* and *Magog*, as little children

are at the terrible sound of Raw-head and Bloody-bones!

“ Until the last reparation of Guildhall, in 1815, the present giants stood with the old clock and a balcony of iron-work between them, over the stairs leading from the Hall to the Courts of Law and the Council Chamber. When they were taken down, in that year, and placed on the floor of the hall, I thoroughly examined them as they lay in that situation. They are made of wood, and hollow within, and from the method of joining and gluing the interior, are evidently of late construction, but they are too substantially built for the purpose of being either carried or drawn, or any way exhibited in a pageant. On inspecting them at that period, I made minute inquiry of an old and respectable officer of Guildhall, with whom they were favourites, as to what particulars existed in the city archives concerning them; he assured me that he had himself anxiously desired information on the same subject, and that after an investigation through the different offices, there was not a trace of the period when they commenced to be, nor the least record concerning them. This was subsequently confirmed to me by gentlemen belonging to other departments.

“ The illustration, or rather proof of Hatton's meaning, is to be found in ‘ *The Gigantick History of the two famous Giants in Guildhall, London.*’ This very rare book, and I call it so because the

copy I consult is the only one I ever saw, it is unnecessary to extract more from than is really essential to the present purpose. It states, that 'Before the present giants inhabited Guildhall, there were two giants made only of wicker-work and paste-board, put together with great art and ingenuity: and those two terrible original giants had the honour yearly to grace my Lord Mayor's Show, being carried in great triumph in the time of the pageants; and when that eminent annual service was over, remounted their old stations in Guildhall—till by reason of their very great age, old Time, with the help of a number of city rats and mice, had eaten up all their entrails. The dissolution of the two old, weak, and feeble giants, gave birth to the two present substantial, and majestic giants; who, by order, and at the city charge, were formed and fashioned. Captain Richard Saunders, an eminent carver in King-Street, Cheapside, was their father; who, after he had completely finished, clothed, and armed these his two sons, they were immediately advanced to those two lofty stations in Guildhall, which they have peaceably enjoyed ever since the year 1708.'

“Accordingly, on examination of the city accounts at the Chamberlain's office, under the head of 'Extraordinary Works,' for 1707, I discovered among the sums 'Paid for repairing of the Guildhall and Chappell,' an entry in the following words:—

To Richard Saunders, Carver, Seaventy pounds, by order }
 of the Co'mittee for Repairing Guildhall, dated y^e } £70
 xth. of April, 1707, for work by him done }

“ This entry of the payment confirms the relation of the Gigantic historian. Saunders's bill, which doubtless contained the charges for the two giants, and all the vouchers before 1786, belonging to the Chamberlain's office, were destroyed by a fire there in that year. Beyond this single item, corroborating the narrative of the ‘ Gigantick History,’ there is no information to be obtained at Guildhall.

“ However stationary the present ponderous figures were destined to remain, there can scarcely be a question as to the frequent use of their wicker predecessors in the corporation shows. The giants were great favourites in the pageants. Stow, in describing the ancient setting of the nightly watch in London on St. John's eve, relates that ‘ the Mayor was surrounded by his footmen and torch-bearers, and followed by two henchmen on large horses: the Mayor had, besides his *giant*, three pageants; whereas the sheriffs had only two, besides their *giants*, each with their morris-dance and one henchman. It is related, that to make the people wonder, these giants were armed, and marched as if they were alive, to the great diversion of the boys, who, peering under, found them stuffed with brown paper. A character in Marston's ‘ Dutch Courtezan,’ a comedy acted in 1605,

says, ‘ Yet all will scarce make me so high as one of the *Gyant’s stilts* that stalks before my Lord Mayor’s Pageants.’

“ It is supposed, by the author of the ‘ Gigantick History,’ that the Guildhall giants represent Corinæus and Gogmagog, whose story seems to be to this effect. After the destruction of Troy, Brutus, who was the great grandson of Æneas, fled to Italy, married the daughter of Latinus, king of Latium, and succeeded him in the kingdom. At fifteen years of age, Brutus accidentally killing his father while hunting, was banished to Greece, and in the course of time, collected a band of Trojans, on board a large fleet, and sailed in search of adventures.

———— In two daies and a night
 Upon the Ile of Lestrigons they light ;
 And leaving of their ships at roade, to land,
 They wand’ring went the countrey for to view :
 Loe there a desert citie old they fand,
 And eke a temple (if report be true)
 Where Dian dwelt, of whom the Troian crew
 In sacrifice their captain counsell gave
 For good successe, a seat and soile to craue.

And he no whit misliking their advice
 Went forth, and did before the altar hold
 In his right hand a cup to sacrifice,
 Fil’d both with wine, and white hind’s blood scarce cold ;
 And then before her statue straight he told
 Devoutly all his whole petition—

* * * *

When nine times he had spoken this, and went
 Foure times the altar round, and staid agen,
 He pour'd the wine and blood in hand he hent
 Into the fire ———

He laid him then downe by the altar's side,
 Upon the white hind's skin espred therefore:
 Of sweetest sleepe, he gave himselfe the more
 To rest surelie. Then seemed him before
 Diana chaste, the Goddess, to appeare,
 And spake to him.

“ She acquainted Brutus, that far to the west
 beyond Gaul, was a sea-girt isle, which he should
 conquer and rule over, and his sons after him, to
 whom other nations should become subject. En-
 couraged by this prediction, they continued their
 adventures,

And sail'd to Tuscan shores on Europe coast that lie,
 When at the last amongst the men they did descrie
 Foure banisht bands of Troians in distresse,
 Companions of Antenor in his flight,
 But *Corinæus* was their captain than,
 For counsell graue a wise and worthie wight;
 In wars the praise of valiantnesse he wan.
 Lord Brutus liked well this noble man,
 With him full oft confer of fates he wold,
 And vnto him the oracles he told.

With this reinforcement they again set sail, and
 landed at the haven of Loire in France. Being at-
 tacked by the king Goffarius, two hundred Trojans,
 under *Corinæus*, succeeded presently in utterly
 routing the Frenchmen; but *Corinæus*, eager to
 pursue the flying enemy, advanced so far before

his followers, that the fugitives returned to slay him—

There he alone against them all, and they
Against him one, with all their force did fight :

He achieved prodigies of valour, until Brutus coming up with a fresh troop, ended the strife : the French host were wholly discomfited, and nearly all destroyed by the victorious Trojans. Turon, the valiant nephew of Brutus, was slain in this battle, and being buried on the spot, gave name to the city of Tours, which the Trojans built to vex the French ; but their force being much weakened by their successes, Brutus and Corinæus set sail once more, and arrived at Totness in Devonshire, in the island of Albion.

Those mightie people borne of giants brood
That did possesse this ocean-bounded land,
They did subdue, who oft in battell stood
Gainst them in field, untill by force of hand
They were made subject unto Brute's command :
Such boldness then did in the Briton dwell,
That they in deeds of valour did excell.

Unable to cope with these experienced warriors,
none escaped,

Save certain giants whom they did pursue,
Which straight to caves in mountaines did them get.
So fine were woods, and floods, and fountaines set,
So clear the aire, so temperate the clime,
They never saw the like before that time.

Perceiving that this was the country denoted by

the oracle, wherein they were to settle, Brutus divided the island among his followers, which with reference to his own name he called Britain.

To Corinæus gave he, frank and free,
The land of Cornwall for his service done,
And for because from giants he it won.

Corinæus was the better pleased with this allotment, inasmuch as he had been used to warfare with such terrible personages. The employment he liked fell afterwards to his lot. For, as on the seacoast of Cornwall, Brutus was accustomed to keep a peaceable anniversary of his landing, so on a certain day, being one of these festivals, a band of the old giants made their appearance, and suddenly breaking in upon the mirth and rejoicings, began another sort of amusement than at such a meeting was expected. The Trojans seized their arms, and a desperate battle was fought, wherein the giants were all destroyed, save *Goemagog*, the hugest among them, who being in height twelve cubits, was reserved alive, that *Corinæus* might try his strength with him in single combat. Corinæus desired nothing more than such a match, but the old giant in a wrestle caught him aloft and broke three of his ribs. Upon this Corinæus being desperately enraged, collected all his strength, heaved up *Goemagog* by main force, and bearing him on his shoulders to the next high rock, threw him headlong, all shattered, into the sea, and left his name on the cliff, which has been ever since

called Lan-Goemagóg, that is to say, the Giant's Leap. Thus perished Goemagóg, commonly called Gogmagog, the last of the giants. Brutus afterwards built a city in a chosen spot, and called it Troja Nova, which changed in time to Trinovantum, and is now called London. An ancient writer records these achievements in Britain to have been performed at the time when Eli was the high-priest in Judea.

“ Mr. Archdeacon Nares, in his Glossary, corroborates the Gigantick Historian's supposition concerning the personages that the Guildhall statues represent, by a quotation from the undermentioned work, of some old verses printed on a broad sheet, 1660 :—

And such stout *Coronæus* was, from whom
Cornwall's first honor, and her name doth come.
For though he sheweth not so great nor tall,
In his dimensions set forth at *Guildhall*,
Know 'tis a poet only can define,
A gyant's posture in a gyant's inc.

* * * *

And thus attended by his direful dog,
The gyant was (God bless us) *Gogmagog*.

British Bibliogr. iv. p. 277.

“ The author of the Gigantick History supposes, that as ‘ *Corinæus* and *Gogmagog* were two brave giants, who nicely valued their honour, and exerted their whole strength and force in defence of their liberty and country; so the city of London, by placing these their representatives in their Guildhall,

emblematically declare, that they will, like mighty giants, defend the honour of their country and liberties of this their city, which excels all others, as much as those huge giants exceed in stature the common bulk of mankind.' Each of these giants, as they now stand, measures upwards of fourteen feet in height: the young one is believed to be Corinæus, and the old one Gog-magog.

"Such being the chief particulars respecting these enormous carvings, the terror of the children, the wonder of the 'prentices, and the talk of the multitude of former days, I close the subject, satisfied with having authenticated their origin."

ORIGIN *and* HISTORY of the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD,
—FOUNDERS, ENDOWERS, &c. &c. &c.

No nation takes precedence of our own either in point of antiquity, magnificence, or learning of our universities of Oxford and Cambridge. For, whatever France may boast of her *Parisian* foundations, we find it more certain and eminent in these institutions.

As regards the antiquity of this seat of learning, it is incontrovertible, that the foundation of UNIVERSITY, BALIOL, and MERTON colleges, in Oxford, and ST. PETER'S in Cambridge, were all made such in the thirteenth century, and therefore claim their title among the first regular endowments of the kind in Europe. We might contend for a

priority in favour of University college, which was a place for students in the year 872, and some authors insist on King Alfred's foundation thereof. Yet as these students did not live in society, but at their own charge at private houses, their places of meeting for improvement in learning were not called *colleges*, but inns and halls, and are not to be accounted universities till those inns and halls were endowed and made collegiate for the reception, diet, and apparel, &c. of the students, and with salaries for professors.

The archives of the university produced by Wood, and as we are assured by Brompton, Malmesbury, Higden, Harpsfield, and others, the chief schools which King Alfred, by the advice of St. Neots, founded, were those of Oxford. Wood is of opinion that the king founded there one school for all the sciences, besides the grammar schools. Aycliffe, who is no less accurate, in his history of Oxford, pretends that three halls or colleges were erected there by that prince, which is indeed affirmed by John Rouse or Rows, or Ross, the historian of Warwick, who died in 1491. Asserius of Menevia, in his life of king Alfred, names not Oxford, and may be understood of schools set up by the king in his own palace; but that St. Grimbald taught at Oxford seems clear, from his seat there in St. Peter's church. John the Saxon and others were his colleagues. But St. Neot never left his solitude: and Asserius mentions of himself, his only staying in

Alfred's court *six* months every year; for he would always spend the other *six* months in his monastery at Menevia, or St. David's.

Wood*, Arnot†, and others, imagine schools at Grecelade and Lechelade to have flourished under the Britons and Saxons, and to have been only translated to Oxford, and there revived by King Alfred, after the wars had interrupted them. But the monuments in which mention is made of them, are at best very uncertain; and *Lechelade*, so called from *physicians*, is a Saxon, not a British word.

The schools at Oxford decayed after Alfred's reign, and that city was burnt by the Danes in 979, and again in 1009. Robert Poleyn or Pullus, an Englishman, who had studied at Paris, returning home, restored sacred studies at Oxford in 1133, in the reign of Henry I. and carried the glory of this university to the highest pitch. Having been made cardinal and chancellor of the Roman church by Lucius II. he obtained, about the year 1150, the greatest privileges for this university.

Dr. Newton's account of the origin of the university of Oxford is as follows; *viz.* "That in ancient times, certain learned men resided in the city of Oxford, and there taught those arts and sciences which are called liberal, to such as were disposed to learn them. The reputation of their skill, and the fine situation of the place, invited such a general resort of scholars to it from all parts, that it soon

* Page 4.

† In Vit. Alfredi, p. 136.

obtained the name of an university. The citizens, for the better accommodation of the students, from whose residence amongst them they received great benefits, let out such of their houses as they did not themselves inhabit to the teachers of these arts, who again let out the several rooms thereof to their respective scholars, as to under tenants. Such houses, from the time they were applied to the purposes of liberal education, were called halls, and the several gentlemen of these voluntary societies, principals of halls. Long before any of these halls were converted into colleges, the university, by prescription, used a public seal, received lands, was possessed of customs, and made laws for the government of its own body, as a corporation."

After the schools established at Oxford had been burned down by the Danes, all learning was banished from thence for many years. Edward the Confessor restored the students to their seats and privileges about the year 1050, according to some writers, while others assure us, that the universities lay in a miserable condition, almost expiring, till the time of the Conquest, *anno* 1066.

Under this government there are nineteen colleges and five halls.

1. UNIVERSITY COLLEGE claims the precedence in point of antiquity; it being commonly said to derive its foundation from the munificence of King Alfred, the first monarch of England; and has by various revolutions and benefactions arrived to its

present flourishing condition. Amongst these benefactors we find *William*, Archdeacon of Durham, who, soon after the Norman conquest, endowed it so largely, that he is numbered amongst its founders.

In this college is one master, twelve fellows, and seventeen scholars. Dr. Ratcliff established here two travelling fellowships, at the charge of 600*l.* per annum.

2. **BALIOLE COLLEGE** was founded by John Baliol, father to John Baliol, King of Scotland, about the year 1263, and by numerous benefactions it is now provided with estates for the support of a master, twelve fellows, fourteen scholars, and eighteen exhibitioners.

3. **MERTON COLLEGE**, so called from Walter de Merton, its founder, Lord Chancellor of England, and Bishop of Rochester, was founded, endowed, and chartered, in 1270. It has been favoured with many benefactions, and is governed by a warden. Here are twenty-four fellows and fourteen exhibitioners, called post-masters, and two clerks.

4. **EXETER COLLEGE** was founded so early as 1316, by Walter Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter. For many years it passed under the name of Stapledon Hall, till there rose up another Bishop of Exeter, Edmund Stafford, who became a second founder, and changed its name, by authority, to Exeter College.

The government of this college is vested in a

rector, and twenty-three fellows. Here is a beadle, and three exhibitioners.

5. ORIEL COLLEGE, founded in 1323, by Adam de Broome, takes its name from a large messuage named le Oriel, granted to this college by King Edward III. It has had many great and royal benefactions, and at present maintains a provost, eighteen fellows, and fourteen exhibitioners.

6. QUEEN'S COLLEGE was founded and endowed in 1340, by Robert Englishfield, by direction from Queen Philippa, consort to Edward III. Robert was then chaplain, and gave this foundation the name *Aula Scholarium Reginae de Oxon*, or *Queen Scholars Hall, of Oxford*.

By the charter of incorporation of this college, it appears, that the founder had made provision for a provost and twelve fellows, to be chosen out of seventy poor children, or scholars, to be also maintained and educated here. It also appoints, that the society should be called together at their meals by the sound of a horn; and that when the fellows, in their purple gowns, had placed themselves on the further side of the table, with the provost in the middle thereof, the poor scholars should kneel before them on the opposite side, and answer such questions in philosophy as should be put them by the fellows, before dinner began.

The number of members upon the books of this college, at a late public act, were one provost, six-

teen fellows, eight chaplains, nine tabernaclers, sixteen poor scholars, two clerks, and twenty exhibitioners, besides gentlemen commoners.

7. **NEW COLLEGE** is a monument of the munificence of that great prelate and statesman, William Long, born at Wickham, in Hampshire, by which name he is most generally known: who, before he erected this college, in 1379, maintained, for seven years, seventy students in several halls in Oxford. The foundation was laid on the 5th of March 1379, and the building completed at the beginning of 1386: his warden and fellows took possession of it by a solemn procession.

This foundation was made for a warden, seventy scholars, ten chaplains, three clerks, and sixteen choristers, with handsome stipends; on condition that fifty of the scholars should apply themselves to arts and divinity, ten to the study of the civil law, and ten to the study of the canon law.

The present members of this society are one warden, seventy fellows, ten chaplains, three clerks, and one sexton.

8. **LINCOLN COLLEGE**;—this foundation was begun in 1430, by Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, who obtained a charter for its establishment, and left a sufficiency to complete his design, not finished at his death. It has had a succession of valuable benefactors; amongst whom is Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln, also, afterwards, Arch-

bishop of York, and Chancellor of England; who, by his donations, and his body of laws for their better regulation, is esteemed a second founder.

The present members are one warden, forty fellows, two chaplains, and nine scholarships.

9. MAGDALEN COLLEGE was founded in the reign of Henry VI., A. D. 1256; erected and endowed by William Patten, of Wamfleet, usually called William of Wamfleet. He was Bishop of Winchester, and Lord High Chancellor of England.

This college is founded on the site of the dissolved hospital of St. John, and endowed with the revenues of those hospitallers; which were settled by charter for a perpetual maintenance of poor and indigent clerks in the university of Oxford, studying arts and sciences; and the said charter ordains that there should be forty fellows, thirty scholars, called demies, or semi-commoners, four chaplains, eight clerks and choristers, besides servants. Since its institution it has been augmented by several large benefactions. At present it consists of a president, forty gentlemen, some chaplains, thirty demies, and twenty exhibitioners, besides a number of gentlemen commoners.

10. ALL-SOULS' COLLEGE was founded and endowed by Archbishop Chicheley in 1437, for forty fellows; of whom twenty-four were ordained to study divinity and philosophy, and the other sixteen the canon and civil law. But Henry VI. was so profuse in his royal favours to this foundation,

that he has been supposed to be the real founder of the fellowship, though the Archbishop expended near 5000*l.* in the buildings.

Colonel Codrington, some time fellow of this college, and governor of the Leeward Islands, in the beginning of this century, bequeathed 6000*l.* for building a library, and not only left his own valuable study of books to be deposited therein, but gave 4000*l.* more to purchase new ones.

The present members are one warden, forty fellows, two chaplains, and nine scholarships.

11. BRAZEN-NOSE was founded by William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1511, who obtained for it a charter of incorporation from Henry VII. by the name and style of the principal and scholars of King's Hall and Brazen-nose College, with power to purchase lands of the yearly value of 300*l.*, exclusive of all taxes and reprisals.

In this college are a principal, twenty fellows, thirty scholarships, and four exhibitioners, who enjoy the advowsons of the great parishes of Christ Church, in Spitalfields, of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green, of St. Mary, Stratford Bow, of St. Ann, Limehouse, of St. George, Ratcliffe-highway, or St. George's in the East, together with the mother church of St. Dunstan, at Stepney, in the county of Middlesex, by a cheap purchase of the impropriation and advowson of the old parish and parish church of St. Dunstan, at Stepney, a little before it was, by act of Parliament, divided into those several parishes, as they now

are ; the least of which being of the yearly value of 200/.

12. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE was founded in the year 1516, by Dr. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, for the study of divinity, philosophy, and the liberal arts ; he endowed it for the support of a president, twenty fellows, or scholars, two chaplains, two clerks, and two choristers. He also settled a humanity, a Greek, and a divinity lecture.

The present members are a president, twenty fellows, two chaplains, twenty scholars, and four exhibitioners.

13. TRINITY COLLEGE sprung out of the ancient monastic college belonging to the monks of the cathedral of Durham, which shared the same fate as other religious houses under Henry VIII.

This dissolved house being afterwards conveyed to Sir Thomas Pope, of Tettenhanger, in Hertfordshire, he obtained a charter from Queen Mary in 1554, to convert it into a college, and improved it, and endowed it for a president and twelve scholars, to be educated in the studies of philosophy and divinity, and eight students in logic, rhetoric, and other arts. The members now are a president, twelve fellows, twelve scholars, and two exhibitioners, besides gentlemen commoners.

14. ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, a noble foundation, by Sir Thomas White, an alderman and merchant taylor of the city of London, which last alone gave 6000/ to it. This college is supplied with scholars

from merchant taylors' school, in London ; and its members are one president, thirty-nine fellows, and eleven scholars, who are all elected on St. Barnaby's day, from merchant taylors' school.

15. WADHAM COLLEGE, a modern foundation, was begun by Nicholas Wadham, Esq., of Marefield, in Somersetshire, and finished, pursuant to her husband's will, by Dorothy, his relict, in the year 1613. It was endowed by them for a warden, fifteen fellows, fifteen scholars, two chaplains, two clerks, one manaple, two cooks, two butlers, and a porter, with the following restrictions, viz. that the warden should be a native of Great Britain, and to quit this college upon marriage, or advancement to a bishoprick ; and that the fellows to quit their fellowships after having completed eighteen years from their regency.

The present members are a warden, fifteen fellows, two chaplains, fifteen scholars, two clerks, and eight exhibitioners, besides many gentlemen commoners.

16. PEMPROKE COLLEGE was founded on the site of Bradgate hall, in 1624, by Thomas Tesdale and Richard Wightwick, S.T.B., for the study of divinity, physic, civil and canon law, &c. The members are a master, ten fellows, and ten scholars. Four fellows to be chosen out of Mr. Tesdale's relations, the others from Abingdon School ; and two fellows and two scholars to be of the name and kindred of Mr. Wightwick.

King Charles I. became a benefactor to this infant foundation. His majesty founded a fellowship, to be filled from Guernsey or Jersey; and Dr. Morley, Bishop of Winchester, augmented it with five scholarships for natives of the same island. The members are a master, thirteen fellows, and twenty-three scholars.

17. WORCESTER COLLEGE took its rise from the remains of *Gloucester-hall*, anciently the seminary for educating the novices of the Benedictine monks of Gloucester; which, being suppressed at the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII., fell, in process of time, into the hands of St. John's collegians, who erected it into a seminary by the name of *St. John Baptist's Hall*, and made one of their fellows principal thereof. But in the year 1714, Sir Thomas Cooksey, Bart., obtained a charter from Queen Ann to erect it into a college, and to endow it for a provost, six fellows, and six scholars; since which time many considerable benefactions have been given to this society.

18. HARTFORD COLLEGE was converted into its present institution from Hart-hall, by the Rev. Dr. Newton, in the year 1740, who expended considerable sums in its building and endowment.

19. CHRIST-CHURCH COLLEGE, which excels every other in point of magnificence, dimensions, and number of students, owes its foundation to Cardinal Wolsey, to which he persuaded King Henry

VIII., in the year 1524, at which time it was called Cardinal College: but the design of this great prelate was dropped, in consequence of the disgrace into which he fell; and although the king, in the year 1532, at the instance of Lord Cromwell, &c., was prevailed upon to grant letters patent to continue the foundation, under the name of King Henry VIII. College, with an endowment of 2000*l.* per annum in lands, for the maintenance of a dean and twelve canons, we find in the year 1545, that it was suppressed, surrendered into the king's hands, and the dean and five canons reduced to the greatest necessity. His majesty, however, in the year 1546, transferred the episcopal see of Ousney to this college, and constituted the church of St. Fridesmede to be the cathedral church, by the name of Christ Church, founded by King Henry VIII., and endowed it with lands of the value of 2000*l.* per annum, for the maintenance of a dean, seven canons, eight petty canons, one postillator, eight clerks, or chaplains, a master and eight choristers, and an organist; reserving out of the same 40*l.* per annum each to a professor in divinity, a professor of Greek, and another of Hebrew: 8*l.* per annum each to sixty students, or scholars; 20*l.* per annum to a schoolmaster; and 10*l.* per annum to an usher.

Queen Elizabeth added forty scholars, to be chosen from Westminster school, with an exhi-

bition of 6*l.* per annum each, and William Thurston's legacy of 800*l.* for the education of one scholar, makes the number of students 101.

Here also are two lectures, one for the Oriental languages, the other for mathematics, founded and handsomely endowed, by Dr. Busby, S.T.P., Master of Westminster school.

The FIVE HALLS are known by the names of

1. St. Alban Hall.
2. St. Edmund Hall.
3. St. Mary Hall.
4. New-Inn Hall.
5. Maudlin, or St. Mary Magdalen Hall.

These seminaries are mere hotels, or inns, where the students hire the chambers of the principal. Whereas every college consists of a head, fellows, and scholars, incorporated by royal charter, and endowed with lands, &c., which yield the fellows and scholars a certain revenue, and defray all expences of their commons; and every college has its statutes, which the members are obliged to obey by their oaths at their admittance, under pain of expulsion.

Libraries.

The colleges have all libraries within themselves. The University, or Bodleian library, so called from Sir Thomas Bodley, its principal founder. It is built in the form of a Roman H, and is said to contain the greatest number of books, except the Vatican and Parisian libraries. Sir Thomas Bodley

found on this spot an old library, called the library of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, which he enlarged and furnished with the best books he could procure from all parts of the world; and left a considerable estate for salaries to the officers, and for keeping the library in repair. The Earl of Pembroke afterwards enriched it with his valuable collection of Greek manuscripts, to which Sir Thomas Roe added another choice parcel of Greek MSS., as did also Sir Kenelm Digby.

Here also was deposited the study of the learned John Selden; which, with several great purchases as well as donations, have made it the largest university in the world. Besides this, Oxford enjoys the benefit of another great public library, which, if it does not exceed the former in number and value of books and manuscripts, is allowed to excel in the magnificence of its structure, the building of one room having cost 40,000*l.*, the legacy of the celebrated Dr. Radcliff.

This is called the new library, or Radcliffe mausoleum, the keeper of which is entitled to 150*l.* per annum by the doctor's will.

Ashmole's Museum,

A handsome edifice, is another repository of learned pieces, so called from the great antiquarian, Elias Ashmole, Esq., whose valuable collection of antiquities and foreign curiosities, and MSS. given to this university, are preserved under this inscription, *Musæum Ashmoleanum Schola Na-*

turalis Historia Officina Chymica. To which have been added, some Egyptian hieroglyphics, an entire mummy, a large collection of natural curiosities, several Roman urns, medals, altars, &c.; many collections of plants and animals preserved in spirits; and other curiosities, which have made it the richest repository of such matters in Europe.

With respect to the general state of the Oxford libraries, they have latterly been very much improved, and enriched by frequent purchases. Those to whom their care is entrusted, seem in general to fulfil the intentions of the founders, as far as their funds will admit of: for Oxford, we imagine (any thing to the contrary notwithstanding), has not much more wealth than her necessities appear to demand.

* * * The following is a correct comparative statement of the number of commoners and gentlemen commoners in every college and hall in the university of Oxford, except Christ Church, extracted from the Oxford Calendar for 1813, in which all the members' names are given.

<i>Colleges and Halls.</i>	<i>Commoners.</i>	<i>Gent. Com.</i>
1. Brazen-Nose	68	12
2. Exeter	56	21
3. Oriel	52	9
4. Trinity	47	9
5. University.....	38	3
6. Wadham	37	4
7. Baliol.....	36	0
8. Magdalene Hall	35	4
9. Queen's	32	9

10. Jesus	31	.....	0
11. Worcester	27	.....	13
12. St. John's	25	.....	0
13. Edmund Hall	20	.....	6
14. Pembroke	13	.....	8
15. Merton	9	.....	5
16. St. Mary Hall	9	.....	8 & 3 nob.
17. Magdalene College ...	0	.....	8
18. Corpus Christi	0	.....	6
19. Lincoln	6	.....	0
20. Alban Hall	11	.....	0

552

125

Independent Undergraduates..... 677

New College and All Souls are omitted because all their members are dependent; Christ Church College, because the arrangement in the Calendar is too complex for the present plan; and Hertford and New Inn, because they have no societies. This view and the preceding will shew in after times '*the rise and fall*' of the Colleges and Halls in Oxford.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, &c.

ACCORDING to some antiquarians, Cambridge is supposed to be the most ancient academical foundation in Europe, the university of Oxford only excepted.

From this seat of learning were sent disciples of the venerable Bede to fill the first situations in the university of Paris; and Bede (A.D. 689), by consent of the clergy and prelates of the kingdom,

was, for his many learned disputations against the heathens, raised to the chair of the elders, with the mantle of honour, and cap of dignity, after the manner of the Athenians, in the university of Cambridge. If the letter, which goes under the name of *Alcuin*, be genuine, there can be no doubt of its having been in a flourishing condition during his time, he having himself commenced doctor in this university, under Bede, in the year of Christ 692. But let the fate of this letter, and the state of the university in the reign of King Alfred, be what they may, it may be confidently affirmed, that the Norman conqueror committed the education of Henry Beauclerk, his youngest son, and afterwards King of England, to the care of the governors of this learned body. It cannot, however, be presumed, that the universities, in those early ages, were in that state of perfection in which they are now known to be.

It might, and probably was here as at Oxford, the custom to erect public schools for private emolument. At first the scholars boarded in private houses, as is still the custom at Leyden. In the course of time, and for the better accommodation and improvement of youth, some friends to learning built hotels or inns for the students to live in society, at their own charges, under certain regulations, as now practised at the inns of court; and which in the course of time obtained the name of halls: the friars and monks, at length, taking it into their heads to plant some of their young

branches in this soil, introduced foundations for the full maintenance of the students and fellows in their halls, which proved so great an encouragement to learning, that we find their example imitated soon after by all the other halls.

These endowments were also attended with another alteration in the circumstances of the houses for the reception of the students: for many of the halls, from the time of their endowment, took the name of colleges.

The diligent searchers into antiquity have given the following list of the inns and hotels at Cambridge, in which the students originally lived and studied at their own charges, and under the government of a president.

- 1 Augustine Hotel.
- 2 Barnard's.
- 3 Betton's Place.
- 4 Boden's Hotel.
- 5 St. Botolph's.
- 6 St. Clement's.
- 7 Cousin's Place.
- 8 St. Crosse's Hotel.
- 9 St. Edward's.
- 10 Ely convent for Monks belonging to Ely-Monastery.
- 11 Gerrard's Hotel.
- 12 Jesus' and St. John's Hotel.
- 13 God's House.
- 14 God's House.
- 15 God's House.

} The several foundations.

- 16 St. Gregory's Hotel.
- 17 St. John's Hotel.
- 18 St. Catherine's Hospital.
- 19 Knapton's Place.
- 20 St. Margaret's Hotel.
- 21 St. Mary's Hotel.
- 22 St. Michael's Hotel.
- 23 Ovin's Inn.
- 24 St. Paul's Inn.
- 25 Phiswick's Hotel.
- 26 Rud's Hotel.
- 27 St. Thomas's Hotel.
- 28 Tiled Hotel.
- 29 Trinity Hotel.
- 30 University Hotel.
- 31 A Dominican Convent.
- 32 A Franciscan or Minonte Convent.
- 33 An Augustine Friar's Convent.
- 34 A Carmelite Convent.
- 35 A House of White Canons.

We do not insist upon the tradition of Pythagoras's house (where it has been said that ancient Philosopher lived, and read lectures to the youth of this university) situated on the north-west side of St. John's College, now a farm to Merton College, Oxford. The colleges, halls, and houses, as now established, differ only in name. Those incorporated by the name and style of the University of Cambridge at this time are :

1.—PETER HOUSE, which takes its name from being built on the burial ground belonging to St. Peter's church, now St. Mary's. This college was founded by Hugh de Balsham, about the year 1257 or 1280, for fourteen fellows, two students in divinity, and eight poor fellows. He also gave them 300 marks at his death, to make additions to the college, and a large collection of manuscripts.

State of Learning of Peter House.

From the very commencement of the reformation, the state of learning of this college is very conspicuous in the works of George Joye, one of its protestant fellows in 1547, who translated part of the old bible;—of Archbishop Whitgift, who distinguished himself by his learned discourses against the church of Rome;—of Andrew Perne, master, one of the translators of Bishop Parker's bible; Dr. John Richardson, master, and Doctor Andrew Bing, two of the translators of King James the First's bible;—John Holbroke, the great mathematician;—Christopher Cartwright, a noted linguist, and author of annotations on Genesis and Exodus;—Bishop Cosyns, author of the Scholastical History of the Canons of Scripture;—Bishop Walton, author of the Polyglott bible;—Dr. William Sherlock, author of many discourses against Papists, &c. Sir Samuel Garth, Knt. M. D. physician and poet, author of the Dispensary.

2.—CLARE HALL, which was founded in the year 1326, by Richard Baden, then Chancellor of the

University, by the name of University Hall, without any foundation revenues : but being destroyed by fire about sixteen years after, he prevailed upon Lady Elizabeth Burgo, *alias* Burk, Countess of Clare in Suffolk, to join with him in rebuilding and endowing it, and subsequently named Clare Hall ; and to which the learned world is indebted for the education of Ralph Cudworth, master of this Hall, and author of Intellectual System ; Richard Thompson, the philosopher ;—Thomas Philpot, the celebrated antiquarian ; Archbishop Tillotson, admired for his preaching and learned sermons ;—Doctor Thomas Burnet, master of the Charter-house, and author of the Theory of the Earth.

As it now appears, the college is a great curiosity, and was built in that elegant manner, Anno Domini, 1638.

3.—PEMBROKE HALL, founded by lady Mary De Valentine, Countess of Pembroke, Anno Domini 1347, was endowed under a charter from king Edward III. for six fellows and two scholars, leaving it to the discretion of the master and fellows to increase the number in proportion to the revenues she should settle. It was soon enlarged by extending its buildings over the site of University Hotel, &c.

King Henry VI. became its magnificent benefactor, which, with the many privileges and benefactions that followed, both from popes, queens, and subjects, procured it the character which was

given under the great seal of England by king Edward IV. "of the noble and renowned and most precious college, which does and always did shine wonderfully, among all places in the University. It is equally renowned for the

Catalogue of Learned Men which it has produced; among whom may be enumerated William De Bottlesham, the eloquent preacher, in the reign of king Richard II.;—William Lynswood, author of the provincial;—William Somerset, M.D. physician to Henry VI.;—John Rogers, who translated the bible, and was the first protestant martyr under queen Mary I.;—Bishop Ridley, the most learned of the martyrs in that reign, and one of the compilers of our liturgy;—Dr. William Turner, an eminent physician, divine, and preacher. He was domestic physician to the protector duke of Somerset, wrote several treatises against popery: was dean of Wells, and author of the first English Herbal, auno domini, 1568;—John Bradford, another martyr;—Bishop Christopherson, eminent for his skill in the Greek tongue;—Dr. Fulk, the learned confutor of the Rheims testament; Gabriel Harvey, an elegant prelate and orator;—the celebrated poet Edmund Spenser;—William Rowley, a great wit and theatrical poet;—Bishop Brownrigge, an eminent preacher;—Thomas Stanley, author of the history of philosophy; Thomas Wharton, M. D. who discovered the ducts in the maxillary glands;—Doctor

William Holden, who first discovered the method to teach a dumb man to speak, and an eminent virtuoso;—Henry Hawson, the chronologer;—Doctor George Folbury, poet laureat, and a famous rhetorician, celebrated for his epigrams and orations.

4.—BENNET'S COLLEGE was founded by the joint endeavours of the gild of Corpus Christi, and the gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by the name of both their gilds, in the year 1344. But about 14 years afterwards they consented to change its name to Benedict or Benet college, because it was situated near St. Benet's church. Its first revenues were inconsiderable; and though it was placed under the protection of Henry Plantagenet, the brave and good duke of Lancaster, the income would hardly support the master and fellows with necessaries. In process of time, however, the benefactions enabled this society to increase the number of students very much.

Among the learned men that have proceeded from this society, exclusive of archbishops, bishops, &c. are the learned author of *Antiquitates Britannicæ*;—Richard Cavendish, the celebrated physician and mathematician; Thomas Markunt, the antiquarian; John Crump, the great divine; William Briggs, the anatomist, and author of the '*Anatomy of the Ear, and Theory of Vision*'; John Pulgrave, S. T. P., the grammarian and linguist; John Spencer, author of the learned treatise de '*Legibus Hebreorum*'; John Thorp, the logician,

author of the 'Labyrinth of Logic ;' Thomas Allen, author of 'Scripture Chronology ;' John Johnson, author of the 'Bloody Sacrifice and Altar Unveiled,' &c. ; Dr. Mosse, a celebrated preacher, &c. &c.

In this college is a library over the chapel, consisting of manuscripts only, the gift of Archbishop Parker. They were collected by himself, and deposited in this college, under this condition, that should any one of the records, or manuscripts, left by him, be secreted or missing from that collection, the college shall lose the whole, as fully specified in his grace's will. Such care, therefore, is taken to preserve this valuable deposit, celebrated all over the learned world, that even a fellow of the house is not permitted to enter the library, without an inspector with him, to attend him during his stay there ; and the manuscripts are carefully examined and numbered once a-year, by two persons of another college.

From the number of bishops produced by Pembroke college, it was formerly called Collegium Episcopale.

5. TRINITY HALL is indebted to the generosity of various benefactors, who rescued it from its ancient state of mediocrity, of a poor hotel, or house of study, and considerably enlarged it ; which being purchased by Dr. William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, was taken down, and at his own expence rebuilt, and erected into a college. He endowed

it with a considerable estate, and is therefore generally supposed to be the founder of it, in the year 1351.

6. GENEVILLE and CAIUS COLLEGE takes its name from a double foundation. Originally it was the foundation of Mr. Edmund Geneville, minister of Taringter, in Norfolk, who, in the 22d Edward III., obtained a charter for building a college, to maintain a master and thirty scholars, to which the chancellor and master of the university, and the master and brethren of St. John's hospital, in Cambridge, about four years after, became benefactors. Mr. Geneville did not live to complete this institution; but having prevailed with Dr. Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, to finish the work after his death, that prelate executed his will, and gave it the name of Geneville hall. The revenues, however, fell far short of the maintenance intended by the founder; for it does not appear that this bishop endowed this hall for more than a master and three fellows. It was afterwards endowed with the augmentation of three more fellows; which, with the favour shewn by Pope Sextus IV. A. D. 1481, who obliged all Benedictine monks, of the diocese of Norwich, intending to follow their studies at Cambridge, to study in no other hall than this, which soon brought the society into great reputation, and benefactions tumbled in apace; so much so, that in a short time afterwards

we find seven fellowships and eleven scholarships added to the former number.

In 1557, John Caius, M.D., who had been master of this college, enlarged the house, and increased its revenues so much, that his benefaction was deemed a new foundation: so that thenceforward it was called Geneville and Caius College; and afterward obtained a charter of incorporation, which gave power to found two more fellows and twelve more scholars: founded to the honour of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary.

The Doctor * soon afterwards built Caius Court, at his own charge; and inscribed the gate next to St. Michael's church, HUMILITATIS, or the Gate of Humility; the next, VERTUTIS, or the Gate of Virtue. On the other side of this portico are the following words: *Jo. Caius posuit sapientiæ* 1567—*i. e.* John Caius erected this, in honour of wisdom. The other gate, next the public school, commended much for its architecture, is inscribed HONORIS—*i. e.* the Gate of Honour, upon a supposition that none should venture to pass through it to take their degrees, who have not honourably acquitted themselves in their studies, &c.

* Among other privileges, Dr. Caius obtained a licence, in the 6th Elizabeth, that this college might for ever yearly take the bodies of two malefactors, at discretion, and dissect them, without the controul of any person, and without paying any thing for them; and settled the annual sum of 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the expence of dissecting the bodies.

Many other good benefactions have been added to this college, &c.

7. KING'S COLLEGE, begun by Henry VI., in the year of Christ 1441, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas, and intended for the support of a rector and twelve scholars; but in 1443 his Majesty changed its form and name, placed in it a provost (instead of a rector), seventy fellows and scholars, ten priests, six clerks, a music master, or organist, sixteen choristers, sixteen officers of the foundation, twelve servitors for the senior scholars, and six poor scholars; in all, 140; and dedicated this new conception to the blessed Virgin Mary, and to the glorious confessor St. Nicholas. This grand design, however, was cut short, by the trouble he met with from the house of York.

King Edward IV. diminished its revenues, and gave part of its estate, called Pythagoras's house, to Merton college, in Oxford, which it enjoys to this day.

Henry VII. was the first that cast a favourable eye upon this royal foundation. He extended the chapel 188 feet in length, and finished the outside shell. The inside, as it now is, was the work of his son and successor, Henry VIII.

The college at Eton was founded by King Henry VI., for a provost, seven fellows, and seventy grammar scholars, to be maintained on the foundation, for a nursery to this college at Cambridge.—Suc-

ceeding benefactions have been principally made to the library.

8. QUEEN'S COLLEGE is another royal foundation, by Margaret of Anjou, queen consort to King Henry VI. of England, in the year 1448. Her Majesty dedicated this college to St. Margaret and St. Bernard, and endowed it with 20*l.* per annum. And although this work received some interruption, in consequence of the troubles brought upon her husband and family by the Lancastrian party, it was finished by her successor to the throne, Elizabeth, wife to Edward IV., which she was prevailed upon to do by her confessor, Andrew Duckett, a Minorite friar; whose care for this college, and his interest among the great, obtained many large donations from other hands for its support. Amongst the numerous benefactions (in all 130), we find Richard III., who, having seized upon the great possessions of John Vere, the thirteenth Earl of Oxford, gave them all to this foundation. But they were restored to the Earl by Henry VII.

9. CATHERINE HALL is the monument of a private charity, being the foundation of Dr. Robert Woodlarke, or Wodelarke, chancellor of this university. He began the work in 1457, but did not obtain a licence for its endowment, with revenues to support a master and three fellows, till the year 1475.

10. JESUS COLLEGE was founded on the scite of

a Benedictine nunnery, dedicated to St. Rhadegund. To this nunnery Malcolm IV., King of Scotland, added a church, dedicated to the name of Jesus. The nuns flourished here many years, but at last degenerated into such a debauched way of life, that for this they all but two left the house; and one of the two that staid was with child, and the other but a child. John Alcock, Bishop of Ely, and then Lord Chancellor of England, being informed of this desertion, obtained the licence of Henry VII. and of Pope Alexander VI., to convert the abandoned monastery into a college; in which (A.D. 1496) he placed a master, six fellows, and six scholars, and dedicated the premises to the blessed Virgin Mary, to St. John the Evangelist, and to the glorious virgin St. Rhadegund.

This alteration for the advancement of piety and learning was soon succeeded by several large benefactions.

II. CHRIST'S COLLEGE was also founded by Henry VI., for the reception of the scholars, &c., whom he removed hither from the *House of God*, which he intended to include within the bounds of King's college. He placed here a provost and four fellows and scholars, intending to increase the scholars to sixty, had not the fatal war that followed obstructed his pious design. Margaret, Countess of Richmond, and mother to King Henry VII., however, arose like a tutelar deity to this house, and obtained leave of her son to complete the pro-

ject of the royal founder, Henry VI. And she accordingly endowed it with revenues for the support of a master, twelve fellows, and forty-seven scholars, a number since increased by other benefactions.

12. ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, as it now stands, is another foundation of Lady Margaret's. It was erected upon the ruins of a very ancient hotel, or monastery, of regular canons, founded by Nigellus Bishop, Bishop of Ely, and treasurer to King Henry I., in 1134, and afterwards divided between those regulars and a certain number of scholars, by Norwold, or Northwood, Bishop of Ely, in the year 1280. But the regulars at last dwindled away to two members only; when Lady Margaret obtained leave from King Henry VIII. to rebuild it, to dedicate it to St. John the Evangelist, and to endow it with her own lands, for the maintenance of a master and fifty scholars. As Lady Margaret, however, did not live to see it finished, she entrusted the execution of that part of her will to Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and others; who faithfully discharged their trust in 1508, but not without great difficulties; for the foundress having trusted to a codicil in her last will and testament for the settlements intended to be made for this college, and dying before she had signed that codicil, King Henry VIII., her grandson, cast his eye upon the estates to be alienated from the family for this

foundation; and neither his Majesty, nor the Bishop of Ely, who had pretensions to the former house, on which this college was to be grafted, could be prevailed upon to submit to the will of the deceased foundress, till the executors, with great expence and trouble, obtained a Bull from the Pope, dated *Octavo Calend. Jul. Anno Domini 1510*, which decreed the utter subversion of the old house, and confirmed the foundation of a new college, and the revenues designed for the maintenance of a master and fifty clerks in it, set aside the right of the Bishop of Ely, the diocesan, and empowered the Bishops of Lincoln and Norwich, or either of them, to execute his decree, and to excommunicate all opposers thereunto. The king immediately granted his licence to carry the lady, his grandmother's will, into execution, so far as regarded the old house to be suppressed and its revenues, but he kept back above 400*l.* per annum estate, given by the benevolent foundress.

By the king's charter, this college is incorporated by the name of John's college, for one master and fifty fellows and scholars, more or less, to study the liberal sciences, the civil and canon law, and divinity.

13. MARY MAGDALEN COLLEGE is the foundation of Thomas, Lord Audley, of Welden, Lord Chancellor of England, Knight of the Garter, and Privy Counsellor to King Henry VIII., upon the scite of an ancient house, known, in the year 1092,

by the name of St. Giles's Priory, for six canons. But these canons being removed, the *hostel*, or *priory*, was purchased by certain monasteries for a *hôtel* to accommodate their young broods sent to study at Cambridge. From which circumstance, the name of Monk's College was given to it, till Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who purchased the premises, built a new house thereon, and called it Buckingham College, A. D. 1519. And in 1521, the Duke being attainted of high treason, before the foundation was perfected, this college, as part of his estates, fell to the crown, and as such were granted by Henry VIII. to Lord Audley, in 1542; who refounded the same by the name of St. Mary Magdalen's College, endowed it with parcels of the priory of Holy Trinity, near Aldgate, in London, for a master and four fellows; reserving to himself and successors the patronage of the mastership and visitorial power over the college. But such has been the liberality of the opulent towards this poor foundation, that its endowments have been considerably extended, and a valuable library appended to it, &c.

14. TRINITY COLLEGE is the work of Henry VIII., who built it upon the scite of St. Michael's House, King's Hall, and Pheswick's Hotel, and the six ancient *hostels*, or *inns*, of Gregory, Ovings, Margaret, Gerard's, Katharine's, Tyler's.

15. EMANUEL COLLEGE was founded by Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon the

scite of an ancient monastery of Dominican friars, founded in 1280, by Alice, wife to Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford. This monastery being dissolved by Henry VIII., it became the dwelling-house of Mr. Sherwood, a private gentleman, who purchased it of the crown, and afterwards sold the premises to Sir Walter, who obtained a charter of the crown to incorporate this purchase by the name of Emanuel College, to the glory of God, in the year 1584, and placed in it a master, three fellows, and four scholars, intended for a nursery of Puritans, a sect to which Sir Walter was much inclined.

16. SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE is built upon the scite of an ancient convent of Franciscan, or Grey friars, in which the yearly assemblies of the universities were kept. This convent being dissolved at the Reformation, was given by Henry VIII. to Trinity College; from whom the executors of Lady Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex, widow of Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex, purchased it in fee-farm, under the authority of an act of Parliament obtained for that purpose; and there-upon, pursuant to the will of the said Lady Frances, built a college, by the name of Sidney Sussex, for the maintenance of seven fellows and ten scholars, A. D. 1596; which by future benefactions, like every other of its contemporaries, have been enabled to extend its accessions, &c.

CURIOUS DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE CIVIL
WARS *.

AN introduction to this volume, from the pen of Sir Walter Scott, states, that the two narratives of which it consists have been printed, "not because they give any new or particular information upon the subjects of the Great Civil War, but because it is desirable, for many reasons, to place beyond the reach of accident every personal narrative connected with that eventful period." Of the author we are also told, from the same source, that he, Captain John Gwynne, appears to have been of Welsh descent, and the grandson of Edward Gwynne, Esq. barrister at law. "He was, before the Civil War, a retainer in the household of Charles I., and employed in training the family of that unfortunate prince to military exercises. He naturally engaged in the royal service during the Great Civil War, and seems to have distinguished himself by his personal courage and activity. After his Royal Master's execution, he followed the banner of his son, in the most difficult enterprizes in which it was displayed. Gwynne was with Montrose in his last unhappy attempt; and undeterred by the dangers which he then escaped, was again ready to venture

* Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War. Being the Military Memoirs of John Gwynne; and an Account of the Earl of Glencairn's Expedition, &c., in the Highlands of Scotland, in 1653 and 1654.

his person in the same country and quarrel, under the command of Middleton. When that enterprize also failed, he joined the motley army of loyalists which assembled round James, Duke of York, and was with him at the fight before Dunkirk, and other actions in Flanders. Upon the Restoration, Gwynne seems to have experienced his share of the neglect with which Charles II. treated the old cavaliers. He seems to have been passed over in the course of promotion in the Royal Guards, where he had been so long an officer, and to have been left to embarrassment, if not to want. The general clamour of these neglected partizans at length extorted some ostensible attention to their situation; and Gwynne, amongst others, seems to have then drawn up the following statement of the battles, skirmishes, and adventures, in which he had distinguished his loyalty. . . . Whether he proved successful in his application, or otherwise, is unknown; but the latter conclusion is to be apprehended. . . It only remains to be noticed, that the manuscript from which the Account of Glencairn's Expedition is printed, is in the possession of Sir Alexander Don of Newton, Baronet, representative of the Earl of Glencairn, in right of his mother. It is said to have been compiled by John Graham of Duchrie, one of the most distinguished gentlemen who joined him in the undertaking.

In illustration of these memoirs, and at the same time to shew the miserable state of the king-

dom of Scotland, exhausted at once by foreign domination and domestic dissensions, some extracts are added from what may be called the *Gazettes* of the period, the dispatches, namely, from Scotland, which were chiefly composed at Monk's head-quarters at Dalkeith, appeared from time to time in the *Public Intelligencer*, by which the Protector informed his subjects of occurrences in his usurped dominions.

Captain *Gwyn*, (so he signs his own name,) prefaces his *Memoirs* with several letters, addressed to the King, Dukes of York, Monmouth, Albemarle, and Grafton, the Earl of Pembroke, and other noblemen and official persons. In these he insists upon his loyalty and services for more than forty years, in a free manly style; and in some of them in striking terms. Thus, to the King himself he writes:—

“ SIR,

“ Your Majesty is my best witness to satisfy yourself that I have served you immutably, from youth to old age; nor could any other kind of encouragement on earth gaine me from my loyal devotion and service to your Majesty, whilst I had a being in what condition soever; neither would I be so great a criminal, and so insignificant, as some unjustly have rendered me unto your Majesty, for my life. Therefore, and in regard of his Grace the Duke of Monmouth's late commands, that whosoever rides in the Royal troop of Guards, must give an account how long, and in what capacity, he had served the King, and whether gentleman or mechanic; I prepared this small manuscript, of my own poor method and writing, most humbly to present unto your Majesty, as a real testimony of those several countreys where I have faithfully spent my prime of years in your service, and likewise my observation (as most to the purpose in my

best sense,) of all the field-fights and garrisons I have been in, and against, in your Majesty's service. And withall, not one of those many brave fellows, who had the honour to carry pikes and muskets when your Majesty, in your junior years, was pleased to exercise us at Richmond and Windsor, nor one from that great nursery of prime men at Court, then about the Royal Family, can own to have gone more steps, and through more hazards, to accomplish his loyal duty, than has, Your Majesty's most humble, faithful, poor subject and souldier,

“ JOHN GWYN.”

The letter to the Duke of Buckingham is also a curious one :—

“ SIR,

“ In those glorious days, before the late intestine wars, I had the honour to be known unto your Grace, and receive your commands, when with the Royal Princes, ye, all in your infancy, were so earnestly inclined to armes, that it seemed in some opinions to presage, like apperitions which foretell wars, by appearing in formal bodies skirmishing and fighting; and your briske firing, lighting to the thundring wars which suddenly broke out upon't, and subverted the whole government, by reducing princes from their power, for pezants to rule and give lawes; but as prodigious monsters have no second brood, can go no further,

So wheel'd about, each to their proper sphear,
Princes and pezants, all right as ye were.”

The Memoirs set out with the author's joining the King's army upon Hounslow, and marching with it to Brainford (Brentford,) which was carried by a sudden attack. His account is full of interest:
... “ We marched up to the enemy, engaged them by Sir Richard Winn's house, and the

Thames side, beat them to retreat into Brainford, —beat them from the one Brainford to the other, and from thence to the open field, with a resolute and expeditious fighting, that after once firing suddenly to advance up to push of pikes and the butt-end of muskets, which proved so fatal to Holles his butchers and dyers that day, that abundance of them were killed and taken prisoners, besides those drowned in their attempt to escape by leaping into the river.—And at that very time were come a great recruit of men to the enemy, both by land and water, from Windsor and Kingston: and it happened that Sir Charles Lloyd, or some other engineer, to blow up a barge loaden with men and ammunition, which, as the fearful crack it gave, and the sad aspect upon't, struck such a terror into the rest of the recruits, that they all vanisht, and we better satisfied with their room than their company. Nor can any thing of a souldiar or an impartial man say, that we might have advanced any further to the purpose towards London than we did, in regard of the thick inclosures, with strong hedges and ditches, so lined with men as they could well stand one by another; and on the common road and other passes, were planted their artillery, with defencible works about them, that there was no coming at them any nearer, upon so great a disadvantage, to do any more than we did, and withal considering that they were more

than double our number *; therefore the King withdrew, and marched for Hampton-Court, where, for my further encouragement, I had the colours conferred upon me, to go on as I had begun. I cannot omit observing, that had Essex his right wing of horse, which stood upon more ground than the King had horse to face them, wheeled to the left to join with the foot that came from Windsor and Kingston, and fallen on the King's rear, he might have gone to London *nolens volens*."

Going on with details in the same original manner, the taking of Reading by the Earl of Essex, attributed to the treachery of Col. Fielding, the failure of the Royalists before Gloucester, the three battles of Newberry †, the capture of Devizes by Fairfax and Cromwell ‡, the Earl of Holland's

* Clarendon is of the same opinion, that the King could not have marched to London.

† In the second it is stated, "the King was hotly engaged in close fight with the other two armies, which were so severe upon him, that he was first to send for my Lord Hopton to come to his assistance, who was a reserve to Sir George Lysle; and he could as ill spare him at that time, that it was thought impossible for him to be without him or some other reserve: But that Sir George did wonders to maintain his post with that party of his own men, without a reserve, and so bravely encouraged them to stick close to him, (the King being engaged in the next field in his royal person,) that he threw off his upper garments to charge in his shirt, whereupon they all unanimously, as one man of one mind, resolved to live and die with him upon the spot, fought it courageously, and came off victoriously."

‡ Captain Gwyn says, "I having the guard by the river side,

attempt, and other affairs, we have at least a singular if not always a very clear account of the actions and adventures in which the loyal Cavalier was engaged. When the King was at Newcastle he tells us :—

“ When all our hopes of rysings, or any good to be don in or about London, were at an end, then I tooke a journey (tho' never so ill provided for it,) to Newcastle, to see what the Scots would do ; and by that time I came there, there was an order of Parliament sent to the Scots, that they should not entertaine into their army any that formerly had serv'd the King. But a while after, in the extremity I was in to subsist, and by my attempts to get to the town, to find out a friend, I was seiz'd upon for a malignant, and sent with a file of musqueteers before the Maier of Newcastle, (who was an exact fantique,) and lays it to me thus : ‘ Well, had it pleas'd God to give you victory over us, as it pleas'd his Divine will to give us victory over you, ye had call'd us villaines, traytours, sons of whores ; nay, you had kickt us too.’—‘ You are in the right on't, sir,’ said I : At which he sullenly ruminat, whilst

and standing by Sir Jacob Ashley, a bearded arrow stuck into the ground betwixt his legs. He pluckt it out with both hands, and said, ‘ You rogues, you mist your aim.’ This is perhaps the last mention of the use of the bow and arrow in England in actual battle. In Montrose's wars, many of the remote Highlanders continued to act as archers ; but in England, the once formidable long-bow had, in the middle of the seventeenth century, fallen into almost total desuetude.”

some of his Aldermen could not contain themselves for laughter ; but being both of one opinion as to the point, he only banisht me the town, with a promise, that when I came againe, he would accommodate me with a lodging, which was to be in the Castle-dungeon, where many brave fellowes, that came upon the same account as I did, in hope the Scots would declare for the King, were stary'd to death by a reprobate Marshal."

From Newcastle our author travels to the Highlands, and thence, after experiencing many privations and difficulties, he makes his way to Holland, with which the first part of the Memoirs closes.

The second part commences with his engagement to accompany the Marquess of Montrose in his expedition to Scotland, where he fights resolutely against the troops of General David Lesley, whom he calls "no souldiers, but countrey bumkins, there called Whigs," on which his editor has the following note :—

"Not from sour-milk, as is somewhere alleged, but from the cry of the west country, horse-dealers to their trains of horses—To *Whig*, is to make haste. Hence, 'Whig-away,' and 'Whig-amore,' was the usuall cry of those country-jockies, who bequeathed their name to a numerous political party. The insurrection of the Ayrshire Presbyterians, who expelled the Commission of Estates from Edinburgh in 1648, was called the Whig-amore's Raid."

On the failure of Montrose's expedition, the Captain was lucky enough to escape again to Holland, and only got safe there to join in the similar expedition of Middleton. His first letter, describing this event, is well worthy of quotation :—

“ In Holland I have always made my condition with the officers, not to stay, (nor did not,) when there was any thing stirring of action for my King ; and at my return from Montros his engagement, and unhappy defeat, the next occasion which offered itself was General Middleton's ingagement likewise into Scotland, with whom I went, notwithstanding my great weakness after a severe fitt of sickness, and the extreamity I had run through twice in that countrey before : yet all signified no more with me (in comparison) then it is with a woman in labour ; for I as soon forgot it, from the great devotion I ever had to persist in my loyal duty : and when we came to the Fly, and staid there three or four days, seven or eight of us being in quarters at a Scotts house, where the man, wife and daughter, were possest (against all gaine sayings) that the King was in disguise amongst us ; and for the conceit sake that such a thing might be, and to humour their fancy in it, we put Mr. Ball, a proper handsome person, who they tooke for the King, to sitt in a great chayr in the parlor, over against the door, which we had lockt, and tooke out the key designingly, that they might relieve one another in peeping into the key-

hole, as they did, and saw how we attended him with all the ceremonies imaginable; and when he thought fitt, gave us a sign with hand to be cover'd; then we put on our hatts, to null all distinction, and became familiar comrades as before: A while after the door was open, the mother and daughter, with the goodman, laging in the rere, came, supplicating few of us standing at the street-door, that he and they might have the honor to kiss the King's hand, since he despis'd not the meanes of his entertainment in so poor a subject's house as he was pleas'd to come into. We told them it was strange how they came to know it; but since it was so, if they would be conjur'd to silence, and not speak on't, they should; whereupon they replid, that they would rather dye than divulge it: and presently they went to uncase, and put on their best cloaths, which (in a manner) was as soon don as at three motions, for hast to kiss the King's hand. The goodman led into the roome, in a trembling awe, the mother and daughter fil'd after, melting in tears, and on both knees kist his hand, and wheel'd away with abundance of satisfaction. A short while after, as we were goeing to dinner, there were several sorts of wine privately convey'd into [the] roome for us; and when we had eat plentifull, and drunke in abundance, Mr. Ball grew heavy and drowsy that he went to lye down: The goodwife observing him, presently commands her

daughter to go waite upon him, and know if he wanted for any thing ; and upon her stay something extraordinary, the mother tells us, ‘ Truly, gentlemen, if my daughter proves with bern, the child shall not want for the cost:’ But at parture, they were highly troubled that he would not accept of those rings and jewells, which they purchast at so dear a rate, to present him, as a toaken that he would be pleas’d to remember them when he came to his kingdom.’

The author next relates his services in Holland, and among the rest at the battle of Dunkirk, respecting which a note of the editor states—

“ There is an excellent and candid account of the battle of Dunkirk in the Memoirs of King James II. of whom the first General in the world has been heard to say, that he writes of military matters more forcibly and intelligibly than any author whom he has perused.”

We shall only add the author’s conclusion, as being exceedingly characteristic :—

“ I could add very much to this small Manuscript, of what else has been my observation, besides my own undertakings and performances, if I thought requisit; but I will rather reduce the total of what more I have to say briefly thus : I never objected against any difficulties, whatsoever I should meet in going to any place or countrey to serve my Prince ; but was allways one of the very first upon all engagements ; and have been at as many fights,

small and great partys, desparat salleys, and privat engagements, as any one man's time could permitt, nor can any just person say, to his knowledge, that ever he knew me to act any thing unworthy an honest man, a gentleman and souldier. And I hope, that this real account of my fidelity and service, with the severity and hard measure dealt me, (unknown before unto your Majesty,) will render me the more acceptable unto your Majesty's most gracious and wonted promis of reward; and as it may encourage others to profer their duty and service to their King equal, (or above their lives;) as, for example, those eighteen or twenty brave fellows did, at Dunkirk battell, or as that small party from the Devizes have exprest it, when they courageously sung and fought till they routed Waller's rere-guard at Marlborough towns, and with a jovial old tune."

The narrative of Glencairn's expedition is chiefly remarkable for the notes and the picture it draws of the manners of that time, in the quarrel between the noble Earl and Sir George Monro. Middleton having assumed the command, it is said—

"After this, the General Middleton did entertain them all in his quarters. Then Lord Glencairn invited him, and his general officers and colonels, to dine with him at Kettle, a house four miles south of Dornoch, the head-quarters. His Lordship gave them as good cheer as the country could afford, and made them all very hearty.—Af-

ter dinner, he called for a glass of wine, and expressed himself to this purpose to the General: 'You see, my Lord, what a gallant army I, and these noble gentlemen with me, have raised out of nothing. They have hazarded lives and fortunes to serve his Majesty. Your Excellency ought therefore to give them all the encouragement you can.' Immediately Sir George Monro started from his seat, and interrupting Lord Glencairn, said, 'By God! the men you speak of are no other than a pack of thieves and robbers.—In a short time I will show you other sort of men.' Glengary started up, thinking himself most concerned; but Lord Glencairn stopt him, and said, 'Forbear, Glengary, 'tis I that am levelled at:' and directing himself to Monro, told him he was a base liar; for they were neither thieves nor rogues; but much better than he could raise. General Middleton commanded them both to keep the peace; and addressing them, said, 'My Lord, and you Sir George, this is not the way to do the King service, to fall out among yourselves: therefore, I will have you both to be friends:' and calling for wine, said, 'My Lord Glencairn, I think you did the greatest wrong in calling Sir George a liar,—you shall drink to him, and he shall pledge you;' which the noble and good Lord did without hesitation. Sir George, after his old haughty humour, muttered some words, which were not heard, and neither pledged him nor drank to him. The General then

ordered his company to horse. Lord Glencairn would have conveyed him to the head-quarters, but his Excellency would not allow him to go farther than a mile. So he returned to his quarters with Colonel Blackader and John Graham of Deuchrie. He became exceeding merry on his returning home, and caused the Laird's daughter to play on the virginals, and all the servants to dance. Just as he was going to supper, Alexander Monro, brother to Sir George, called at the gate, when his Lordship commanded immediately to let him in, and saluted him at the hall-door as being very welcome, and made him sup with him, placing him at the head of the table, next the Laird's daughter. The whole company were very merry. Immediately after supper, he told Monro that he would give him a spring if he would dance; which accordingly he did—the Laird's daughter playing. While the rest were dancing, his Lordship stepped aside to the window, and Monro followed. They did not speak a dozen of words together. My Lord called for a glass of wine, and drank to him; said he feared he would be too late to go to the head-quarters. As soon as he was gone, he called for candles and went to bed. Blackadar and Deuchrie lay in the same room with his Lordship. As soon as he went to his room, the whole family went to bed. None was privy to my Lord's design but John White, his Lordship's trumpeter and his valet. It was agreed, that as the nights were short,

my Lord should meet Monro half way between Dornock and his quarters, by gray daylight; so that my Lord got not two hours rest; and though the two aforesaid gentlemen lay in the room with him, he went out to the field and returned without their knowledge. None went with him but his trumpeter; and Monro came with none but his brother the Lieutenant-Colonel. They were both well mounted on horseback; each of them were to have one pistol; after discharging of which, they were to fight with broad swords. The pistols were fired without doing hurt. They then engaged with their swords; and after a few passes, my Lord had the good fortune to give Sir George a sore stroke on his bridle-hand; whereupon Sir George cried out that he was not able to command his horse; 'and I hope,' says he, 'you will fight me on foot.'—'Ye carle,' says my Lord, 'I will let you know that I am a match for you either on foot or on horseback.' Whereupon they both alighted; and at the first bout, my Lord gave him a sore stroke on the brow, about an inch above his eyes, which bled so much that he could not see. His Lordship was going to thrust him through the body; but John White, his man, pusht up his sword, and said, 'You have enOUGH of him, my Lord.' His Lordship, in a passion, gave John a stroke over the shoulders, and then took his horse and came to his quarters. Monro and his brother went to the head-quarters, but with much ado, for the bleeding at head and hand.

“ The General being informed of this affair, instantly sent Captain Ochtrie Campbell to secure Lord Glencairn in his quarters, which was done before six in the morning. The manner of securing him was by taking his sword, and commanding him to be arrested in his chamber, and taking his parole not to disobey the General’s order. This happened on Sunday morning.

“ There fell out an accident the week ensuing, which made the breach wider betwixt Lord Glencairn and Monro. Captain Livingston, who came with Monro, and a gentleman called James Lindsay, who came with Lord Napier, had some hot words; Livingston alledging Monro was in the right, and Lindsay the contrary. They went out early in the morning to the Links of Dornoch, and fought. Lindsay thrust Livingston through the heart, who died on the spot. Lindsay was unfortunately taken; and the Lord Glencairn and many of his officers dealt with him. He immediately called a council of war, by whom he was sentenced to be shot at the Cross of Dornoch, betwixt that and four in the afternoon; which was accordingly done. He begged the favour of chusing the men that would shoot him.

“ My Lord was greatly troubled for this gentleman’s death; and allowed nothing to be wanting to bury him handsomely. Sir George carried so high, that no reconciliation was to be had betwixt my Lord and him. So his Lordship, on that day

fortnight after the duel was fought, which was on Sunday, set out for the south. He took no more but his own troop with him, and some gentlemen volunteers that were waiting for command; in all, about 100 horse. We marched straight to the Laird of Essen's bounds. The General having notice of his Lordship's departure, sent a strong party to bring him back, otherway to fight him. His Lordship having arrived in safety at the Laird of Essens, he offered his services to secure the passes, so that the whole army, though they were pursuing, should not be able to come near him that night. My Lord was obliged to accept of this favour, though this gentleman was said to be the person who betrayed the great Montrose; yet others affirm it was his father-in-law, he being very young at that time."

We have mentioned that the notes are also curious, and it is because coming avowedly from Sir Walter Scott, they identify him with the Author of Waverley. He has occasion, in the foregoing narrative, to allude to Aberfoil, and the note runs thus:—

"The romantic pass of Aberfoil has been celebrated in the modern romance of Rob Roy.—It begins at the first opening of the lake, after leaving the little inn; and as the path runs betwixt the water and the mountain, it formed a pass, where, to use the language of Cromwell on a similar occasion, 'one man might do more to hinder, than

three to make way.' The tradition of the post preserves some particulars.—Grahame of Deuchrie's Castle, situated about a mile to the eastward of the pass, was burnt by the English the morning before the action: but the gallant owner was already in arms with his followers. A spot, marked by a clump of trees, where a distinguished English officer fell by a shot from the opposite side of the river, is still called *Bad an Shassenich*, or the Saxon's Clump.—About the same time the English soldiers attempted to intercept the insurgents, by forcing their way through the Trosachs, a celebrated pass of Loch Kathrine. In this also they were unsuccessful: and it was then an English soldier was poniarded by Helen Stewart, in an attempt to land upon the little island in the lake, an incident which the Author of the *Lady of the Lake* has taken the liberty to press into his service*. Here we have the author of *Waverley* and the author of the *Lady of the Lake* allied together.

Again, Lord Glencairn's attendants are said, on one occasion, to have been "the Laird of M'Naughton, Sir Mungo Murray, who killed one of the enemy's officers as they entered the pass;" and those who are acquainted with Sir *Mungo Malagrowth* in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, will think the note on Sir *Mungo Murray* not a little remarkable: "He had been, according to Burnett, *Whipping-Boy* to King Charles, and enjoyed a consider-

* See the Notes to the last Canto.

able portion of Royal favour, which, according to the same authority, he turned to the purposes of court-intrigue.

Another note occurs on the name of Colonel Vogan:—"The name of this gallant cavalier has been lately introduced in the popular novel of Waverley."

Thus we find the author of Waverley and Sir Walter Scott, the possessor *pro tempore* of these Glencairn MSS. referring to the same sources, which were not open to any other individual.

The Appendix, which consists of extracts from the public journals, illustrating the state of Scotland during the Great Civil War in the years 1652-3, and 4. Like many of the Cavaliers, Captain Gwyn was ready with his pen as with his sword; and in his claim upon the restored monarch, Charles II. he does not scruple to insist on his literary as well as on his military services against the Roundheads. Notwithstanding the ever-current clamour about venal scribblers, we do not believe that any government is very prone to heap favours on its literary friends; in fact, men of real talent can do more for themselves by honourable means than by prostitution; and there is generally in ministers a suspicion, if not a dread, of the irritable and not easily satisfied race, which prevents the cordial alliance of "generosity on the one side, and gratitude on the other." But at all events the worthy Captain Gwyn does not seem to

have advanced his course by his poetry, though he says,—

“ I omitted to insert in any other of my manuscripts, that in prison it was offered unto me, if I would be banisht, and swear never to serve the King, perhaps I should have my enlargement ; but at my dislike of it upon those terms, I was told, in short, what I was to expect : then, in case my designs, which before I had time to force my liberty, should fail me, and to satisfie my friends why I had rather dye then live and swear never to serve my King, nor any of that Royal race ; I exprest it as well as I could, in few lines I made in verse upon my inseparable devotion to loyalty I call'd mistress ; with my invective in a short character of Cromwell, and his never-to-be-forgotten Long Parliament, who had hanged me for my loyalty but for my honest keeper.

“ *Upon my inseparable devotion to Loyalty I call'd Mistress.*

“ I am so fond a lover grown,
That for my mistres caus could dye ;
Nor would injoy my love aloan,
But wish her millions more than I.

“ I am devoted to her hand ;
A willing sacrifice could be,
If shee be pleas'd but to command,
To dye is easy unto me.

“ *Cromwell's Character.*

“ He's a sorte of a devil, whose pride so vast,
As he were thrown beyond Lucifer's cast,
With greater curse, that his plagues may excell
In killing torments, and a blacker hell !

“ Upon the Long Parliament.

“ They tire the devil, for they would be worse
Than he himself, when he receiv'd a curse ;
Sure it pain'd him to hatch so foule a brood,—
Vile, pickl'd villians, damn'd through every mood.
Oh ! strange they are not swallow'd where they sitt,—
’Tis blasphemy to thinke what they commit.”

From this digression revert we shortly to the Appendix of Extracts from the *Mercurius Politicus*, where we find, to begin, the following—

“ *From Innerara, in the Western Islands, August 18, (1652.)*—I cannot present you with any thing of worth or weight from the Western Highlands, where is little notable but what is also notorious and abominable. Here are store of garisons ; viz. high and inaccessible rocks and mountains, not to be stormed or taken by battery ; the inhabitants are savage, cruell, covetous, and treacherous ; the men are proud of their trouses, belted plades and bonnet, as a Spaniard is of his high-crowned hat, long cloak, and rapier ; indeed they differ in their pace, for this tells his steps in a pace of a grand paw, whilst that runs like a roe, over hill and dale, till time stops him. Their women are pure Indian complexions, unparalleled for deformity ; their habitations are like so many inaccessible charnel-houses, for nasty noysomness.

“ *Edinburgh, November 2, (1652.)* . . . There was a man condemned for a witch, a very simple fellow, but he was reprieved. It is very observable in him, that upon a commission from the Judges in

June last, and afterwards before the Judges, he confessed himself to have had familiar converse with the devil,—That he gave him a piece of silver, which was put into a crevice of his neighbor's house who had crosst him, and thereupon all his cattle and horses died; and (after a year's languishment) the woman herself. He said also that he renounced his name, for which the devil gave him a new one, which is Alexander, or Sandy. That he sometimes lay with the devil in the likeness of a woman, with many other stories of that nature; and yet most of them that have conversed with him say, they cannot believe him to be a witch. Before the judges at his triall, he denied all that he had confessed before, and said he was in a dream. Yet the very day that he should have been executed, he was not at all afraid, but seemed indifferent whether to live or die.

“The truth is, he lived in so poor a condition, and was (through his simplicity) so unable to get a livelihood, that he confessed, or rather said any thing that was put into his head by some that accused him, upon the confession of some who have died witches. By this you may guess upon what grounds many hundreds have heretofore been burnt in this country for witches*

Stirling, November 26, (1653.) The Earl

* The Sectaries, however wedded to their own enthusiastic dreams, were free from the infatuated belief in witchcraft, which characterized the Presbyterians both in Scotland and England. During the

of Athole hath not got 40 men yet—the country doe not rise, and the considerable Barons of Athole have refused to assist them ; whereupon they have imprisoned divers of them in a very disobliging way ; insomuch, that some have fled to the Governour of Blaire Castle for refuge ; and I hope this usage will root up that foolish popular interest that he expected would have bin considerable. The gentlemen do tell, though they destroy all their goods they will not appear in this business—as having had too large a share in former sufferings for the King ; and now having engaged to live peaceably, and give submission to the union, they will rather lose their crops than their inheritance. And those gentlemen of Athole, consisting of the name of Robertson and Stewart, if any be wronged, they all participate ; and a few days will produce much from those parts. These few far Highlanders that were with them, with Glengary and Clanranold, do plunder all that ever is in their way ; and it was affirmed by a gentleman, that every two men among them did devour a sheep in one day. The country in those parts groans abundantly ; and, for all their malignancy, are weary of these companions.

brief domination of Presbytery in the latter country, a great many unhappy victims were executed, under the directions and upon the evidence of a pretended witch-finder, called Hopkins, mentioned in Hudibras. The infatuation continued in Scotland to a much later period ; the last witch being executed in Sutherland in the beginning of the last century.

“ *Dalkeith, January 4, (1654.)* If a peace be with Holland, (and we hear it is in a fair way,) the first news of it will quite take away their hearts, and make them of their own accord retire to their several habitations, without ever drawing a sword against them. So great a destruction hath already been brought upon Scotland by these robbers, that a few months’ longer continuance of spoil and disorder would bring them into the same condition with the Irish, who have been by famine forced to eat the corpses of their deceased friends, after divers dayes of interment. And yet these are not much to be pitied by us, because of their implacable enmity, who will rather suffer themselves to be undone by the enemy, rather than give notice to our garrisons, when any of the Highlanders came amongst them, or pass through the country, accounting and calling it treachery to be any way instrumental in the surprising of those that would destroy them.”

These paragraphs may suffice to show the unhappy state of the country and the stern features of the times. One extract more we cannot resist, as it is the only one connected with the subject, and very interesting as a proof of the estimation in which the fine arts were held by the English republicans :—

“ *September 30, (1652.)* — Mynheer von Hemsteede is still the but of bad tongues, and among other things for buying stoln goods ; so they call

your late King's moveables, as pictures, books, beds, tapistry, &c. *quis tulerit Gracchos?* Who can with patience hear capers and sherks accuse others of theevery; nay, a state, which in a course of justice makes a re-entry upon that which is their own, when abused and embazled by their tenant-at-will, and by their steward, who, when unfaithful, ought to give up his trust, and give an account of his stewardship. The said Heer Paauw, when he was last in England, is said to have bought the Emperor Charles his picture on horseback, a piece drawn by one Michael Angelo, a limner, which piece the Duke of Buckingham lays claim to, saying, his father lent it to the king. Is not this an embleme of the world's folly, admiring shadows and scuffling for pictures?"

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF TWO CHARACTERS IN PE-
VERIL OF THE PEAK.

THE venerable Dr. Dryasdust, in a preparatory dialogue, apprizes the Eidolon, or apparition of the author, that he stood 'much accused for adulterating the pure sources of historical knowledge;' and is answered by that emanation of genius, 'that he has done some service to the public if he can present to them a lively fictitious picture, for which the original anecdote or circumstance, which he made free to press into his service, only furnished a slight sketch;' 'that by introducing to the busy and the youthful

‘Truths severe, in fairy fiction dressed,’ and by creating an interest in fictitious adventures, ascribed to a historical period and characters, the reader begins next to be anxious to learn what the facts really were, and how far the novelist has justly represented them.’

The adventures ascribed to ‘historical characters’ would, however, fail in their moral aim, if fiction were placed at variance with truth; if Hampden or Sidney, for example, were painted as swindlers; or Lady Jane Grey, or Rachael Russel, as abandoned women!

‘Odzooks! must one swear to the truth of a song?’ although an excellent joke, were a bad palliation in such a case. Fancy may be fairly indulged in the illustration, but not in the perversion of fact; and if the fictitious picture should have no general resemblance to the original, the flourish of

‘Truths severe, in fairy fiction dressed,’ were but an aggravation of the wrong.

The family of Christian is indebted to this splendid luminary of the North for abundant notoriety.

The William Christian, represented on one part as an ungrateful traitor, on the other as the victim of judicial murder, and his brother (or relative) Edward, one of the suite of a Duke* of Buckingham, were so far real historical persons. Whether the talents and skill of Edward in imposing on Fe-

* Not the duke described in Peveril, but the companion of Charles I. in his Spanish romance.

nella a feigned silence of several years, be among the legitimate or supernatural wonders of this fertile genius, his fair readers do not seem to be agreed. Whether the residue of the canvas, filled up with a masterly picture of the most consummate hypocrite and satanic villain ever presented to the imagination, be consistent with the historical character of this individual, is among the subjects of research to which the novelist has given a direct invitation in his prefatory chapter.

English history furnishes few materials to aid the investigation of transactions chiefly confined to the Isle of Man. Circumstances led me, says the author of these notices, many years ago, to visit this ancient Lilliput; whether as one of those 'smart fellows worth talking to,' 'in consequence of a tumble from my barouche,' 'as a ruined miner,' or as 'a disappointed speculator,' is of no material import. It may be that temporary embarrassment drove me into seclusion, without any of the irresistible inducements alluded to; and want of employment, added to the acquaintance and aid of a zealous local antiquary, gradually led to an examination of all accessible authorities on this very subject, among others. So it happened, that I had not landed many hours before I found the mournful ditty of 'William Dhône,' (*brown or fair-haired William*, this very identical William Christian,) twanged through the demi-nasal, demi guttural trumpet of the carman, and warbled by

the landlady's pretty daughter; in short, making as great a figure in its little sphere as did once the more important ballad of Chevy Chace in its wider range: the burden of the song, purporting that William Dhône was the mirror of virtue and patriotism, and that envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness, operate the destruction of the wisest and the best.

Themes of popular feeling naturally attract the earliest notice of a stranger; and I found the story of this individual, though abundantly garbled and discoloured on the insular records, full of circumstances to excite the deepest interest, but which, to be rendered intelligible, must be approached by a circuitous route, in which neither elfin, page, nor maiden fair, can be the companion of our walk.

The loyal and celebrated James, seventh Earl of Derby, was induced, by the circumstances of the times, to fix his chief residence in the Isle of Man, from 1643 to 1651 *. During this period he com-

* His countess resided at Latham House (her heroic defence of which is well known) until 1644 or 5, when she also retired to the Isle of Man. A contemporary publication, the '*Mercurius Aulicus*, by John Birkenhead,' says, 'the countesse, it seems, stole the earl's breeches, when he fled long since into the Isle of Man, and hath in his absence played the man at Latham.' This insinuation is certainly unjust; but the earl seems to consider some explanation necessary, 'why he left the land, when every gallant spirit had engaged himself for king and country.' Danger of revolt and invasion of the island constitute the substance of this explanation. There is reason to conjecture, that he had been disappointed of the command he had a right to expect, when he brought a considerable levy to join

posed, in the form of a letter *, to his son Charles (Lord Strange), an historical account of that island, with a statement of his own proceedings there; interspersed with much political advice for the guidance of his successor, full of acute observation, and evincing an intimate acquaintance with the works of Machiavelli, which it appears, by a quotation †, that he had studied in a Latin edition. The work, although formally divided into chapters and numbered paragraphs, is professedly desultory ‡, and furnishes few means of determining the relative dates of his facts, which must accordingly be supplied by internal evidence, and in some cases by conjecture.

He appears to have been drawn thither, in 1643, by letters § intimating the danger of revolt: the 'people had begun the fashion of England in murmuring;' 'assembled in a tumultuous manner; desiring new laws, they would have no bishops, pay no tithes to the clergie, despised authority, rescued people committed by the governor,' &c. &c.

The earl's first care was to apply himself to the consideration of these insurrectionary movements;

the king at York: any explanation, in short, might be listened to, except a doubt of his loyalty and ardent military spirit, which were above all impeachment.

* Published in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, in 1779.

† Peck, p. 416,—*fortiter calumniari aliquid adhærebit.*

‡ Peck, 446. 'Loth to dwell too long on one subject,' skip over to some other matter.

§ Peck, p. 434.

and as he found some interruption to his proceedings in the conduct of *Edward Christian**, an attempt shall be made, so far as our limits will admit, to extract the earl's own account of this person. 'I was newly † got acquainted with Captain Christian, whom I perceived to have abilities enough to do me service. I was told he had made a good fortune in the Indies, that he was a Mankesman borne.' . . . 'He is excellent good companie; as rude as a sea captain should be; but refined as one that had civilized himself half a-year at court, where he served the Duke of Buckingham.' . . . 'While he governed here some few years he pleased me very well,' &c. &c. 'But such is the condition of man, that most will have some fault or other to blurr all their best virtues; and his was of that condition which is reckoned with drunkenness—viz. *covetousness*, both marked *with age* to increase and grow in man. . . . When a prince has given all, and the favourite can desire no more, they both grow weary of one another ‡.'

* For a history of this family, established in the Isle of Man, so early as 1422, see Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, vol. iii. p. 146. They had previously been established in Wigtonshire.

† This is an example of the difficulty of arranging the relative dates: the word *newly*, thus employed at the earliest in 1643, refers to 1628, the date of the appointment of E. Christian to be governor of the Isle of Man, which office he held till 1635, (Sacheverill's Account of the Isle of Man, published in 1702, p. 100). The earl being then Lord Strange, but apparently taking the lead in public business during his father's life-time.

‡ Peck, p. 444. There is apparently some error in Hutchinson's

An account of the earl's successive public meetings, short, from the limits of our sketch, is extracted in a note* from the headings of the chap-

genealogy of the family in his History of Cumberland: 1st brother, John, born 1602; 2d, died young; 3d, William, born 1608; 4th, Edward, Lieut.-Governor of the Isle of Man, 1629, (according to Sacheveril, p. 100, 1628). This Edward's birth cannot be placed earlier than 1609, and he could not well have made a fortune in the Indies, have frequented the court of Charles I., and be selected as a fit person to be a governor, at the age of 19 or 20. The person mentioned in the text was obviously of mature age; and Edward, the governor, appears to have been the younger brother of William Christian, a branch of the same family, possessing the estate of Knockrushen, near Castle Rushen, who, as well as Edward, was imprisoned in Peel Castle in 1643.

* Peck, 338, et. seq. chap. viii. The earl appoints a meeting of the natives, every man to give in his grievances; upon which some think to outwit him, which he winks at, being not ready for them, therefore cajoles and divides them; on the appointed day he appears with a good guard; the people give in their complaints quietly, and retire. Chapter ix. Another meeting appointed, when he also appears with a good guard. Many busy men speak only Mankes, which a more designing person (probably Captain Christian, a late governor) would hinder, but the earl forbids it; advice about appearing in public; the Mankesmen great talkers and wranglers; the earl's spies get in with them, and wheedle them. Chap. x. The night before the meeting the earl consults with his officers what to answer; but tells them nothing of his spies; compares both reports, and keeps back his own opinion; sends some of the officers, who he knew would be troublesome, out of the way, about other matters; the (present) governor afresh commended; what counsellors the properest. Chap. xi. The earl's carriage to the people at his first going over; his carriage at the meeting to modest petitioners, to impudent, to the most confident, and to the most dangerous, viz. them who stood behind and prompted others. All things being agreed, Captain Christian cunningly begins disturbance; the earl's

ters (apparently composed by Peck). In the last of these meetings, it appears, that Edward Christian attempted at its close to recapitulate the business of the day: 'Asked if we did not agree thus and thus,' mentioning some things (says the earle) 'he had instructed the people to aske, which happily they had forgot.' The earle accordingly rose in wrath, and, after a short speech, 'bad the court to rise, and no man to speak more.'—'Some (he adds) *were committed to prison*, and there abided, until, upon *submission* and assurance of *being very good and quiet*, they were released, and others were put into their rooms. I thought fit to make them be deeply fined; since this they all come in most submisse and loving manner *.' Pretty efficient means of producing *quiet*; if the despot be strong enough; and with it such *love* as suits a despot's fancy. Among the prisoners were *Edward Christian* and his brother William, of Knockrushen; the latter was released in 1644, on giving bond, among other conditions, *not to depart the island without license*.

Of Edward, the earl says, 'I will return unto Captain Christian, whose business must be heard next week' (either in 1644 or early in 1645). '*He is still in prison*, and I believe many wonder thereat, as savouring of injustice, and that his trial should

reply and speech to the people; Christian is stroke blank; several people committed to prison and fined, which quiets them.'

* Peck, 442.

be deferred so long.'—'Also his business is of that condition, *that it concerns not himself alone*.'—'If a jurie of the people do passe upon him (being he had so cajoled them to believe he suffers for their sakes), it is likely they should quit him, and then might he laugh at us, whom I had rather he had betrayed.'—'I remember one sayd it was much safer to take men's lives than their estates; for their children will sooner much forget the death of their father than the loss of their patrimonie *.' Edward *died in custody* in Peel Castle in 1650 †, after an imprisonment of between seven and eight years; and so far, at least, no ground can be discovered for that gratitude which is afterwards said to have been violated by this family, unless indeed we transplant ourselves to those countries where it is the fashion to flog a public officer one day, and replace him in authority the next.

The insular records detail with minuteness the complaints of the people relative to the exactions of the church, and their adjustment by a sort of public arbitration in October 1643. But it is singular, that neither in these records, nor in the earl's very studied narrative, of the modes of discussion, the offences, and the punishments, is one word to be

* Peck, 448-9.

† Feltham's Tour, p. 161, places this event (while a prisoner in Peel Castle,) on the authority of a tombstone, in 1660, 'John Greenhalgh being governor.' Now John Greenhalgh ceased to be governor in 1651; the date is probably an error in the press for 1650.

found regarding the more important points actually at issue between himself and the people. The fact, however, is fully developed, as if by accident, in one of the chapters (xvi.) of this very desultory but sagacious performance. ‘ There comes this very instant an occasion to me to acquaint you with a special matter, which, if by reason of these troublesome and dangerous times, I cannot bring to passe my intents therein, you may in your better leisure consider thereof, and make some use hereafter of my present labours, in the matter of a certain holding in this country, called the tenure of the straw *; *whereby men thinke their dwellings are their own auntient inheritances*, and that they may passe the same to any, and dispose thereof without licence from the Lord, but paying him a bare small rent, like unto a fee-farm in England: wherein they are much deceived.’

William the Conqueror, among his plans *for the benefit of his English subjects*, adopted that of inducing or compelling them to surrender their allo-

* In the transfer of real estates, both parties came into the common law court, and the grantor in the face of the court transferred his title to the purchaser by the delivery of a straw; which being recorded, was his title. The same practice prevailed in the transfer of personal property. Sir Edward Coke, IV. 69, when speaking of the Isle of Man, says, ‘ upon the sale of a horse, or any contract for any other thing, they make the stipulation perfect *per traditionem stipulæ*,’ (by the delivery of a straw). Perhaps the more feasible etymology of stipulation, than the usual derivation from *stipes* (a stake or land-mark) or *stips* (a piece of money or wages).

dial lands, and receive them back to hold by feudal tenure. The Earl of Derby projected the surrender of a similar right, in order to create tenures more profitable to himself—a simple lease for three lives, or twenty-one years. The measure was entirely novel, although the attempt to prevent * alienation without licence from the lord, for purposes of a less profitable exaction, may be traced, together with the scenes of violence it produced, through many passages in the ancient records, which would be inexplicable without this clue.

The earl proceeded certainly with sufficient energy and considerable skill to the accomplishment of his object. In the very year of his arrival, Dec. 1643, he appointed commissioners† to compound for leases, consisting of some of his principal officers (members of council), who had themselves been prevailed on, by adequate considerations, to surrender their estates, and are by general tradition

* Among those instances in which 'the commands of the lord proprietor have (in the emphatic words of the commissioners of 1791, p. 67), been obtruded on the people as laws,' we find, in 1583, the prohibition to dispose of lands without licence of the lord, is prefaced by the broad admission, that 'contrary to good and laudable order, and diverse and sundry general restraints made, the inhabitants have, and dayly do, notwithstanding the said restrainte, buy, sell, give, grant, chop and exchange their farms, lands, tenements, &c., at their liberties and pleasures.' Alienation fines were first exacted in 1643. Report of Commissioners in 1791. App. A. No. 71, Rep. of Law Officers.

† The governor-comptroller, receiver; and John Cannel, deenster.

accused of having conspired to delude their simple countrymen into the persuasion, that having no title-deeds, their estates were insecure ; that leases were title-deeds ; and, although nominally for limited terms, declared the lands to be descendible to their eldest sons. It is remarkable, that the names of Ewan and William Christian, two of the council, are alone excluded from this commission.

We have already seen two of the name committed to prison. The following notices, which abundantly unfold the ground of the earl's hostility to the name of Christian, relate to Ewan Christian, the father of William Dhône, and one of the Deemsters, excluded from the commission. ' One presented me a petition against Deemster* Christian, on the behalf of an infant who is conceived to have a right unto his farme Rainsway (Ronalds-way), one of the principal holdings in this country, who, by reason of his eminencie here, and that he holdeth much of the same tenure of the straw in other places, he is soe observed, that certainly as I temper the matter with him in this, so shall I prevail with others†. . . . By policie‡ they (the Christians) are crept into the principal places of power, and they be seated round about the country,

* Deemster, evidently Anglicised, the person who deems the law, a designation anciently unknown among the natives, who continue to call this officer *Brehon*, identical with the name of those judges and laws so often mentioned in the histories of Ireland.

† Peck, 447.

‡ lb. 448.

and in the heart of it; they are matched with the best families,' &c.

'The prayer of the petition* formerly mentioned was to this effect, that there might be a fair tryal, and *when the right was recovered that I would graunt them a lease thereof—this being the tenure of the straw*. . . . Upon some conference with the petitioner, I find a motion heretofore was made by my commissioners, that the Deemster should give this fellow a summe of money. But he would part with none, neverthesse now it may be he will, and I hope be so wise as to assure unto himself his holding, by compounding with me for the lease of the same, to which, if they two agree, I shall grant it him on easy terms. For if he breake the ice, I may haply catch some fish†.'

The issue of this piscatory project was but too successful. Ewan bent to the *reign of terror*, and gave up Ronaldsway to his son William, who accepted the lease, and named his own descendants for the lives. Still the objects obtained were unsubstantial, as being contrary to all law, written

* I have ascertained the date of this petition to be 1643.

† Covetousness is not attributed to this head of the family; but the earl makes himself merry with his gallantry:—natural children, it seems, took the name of their fathers, and not of their mothers, as elsewhere, and 'the deemster did not get soe many for lust's sake, as to make the name of Christian flourish.' Of him, or a successor of the same name, it is related, that he 'won 500*l.* at play from the Bishop of Sodor and Man, with which he purchased the manor of Ewanrigg, in Cumberland, still possessed by that family.'

or oral; and the system was incomplete, until sanctioned by the semblance of legislative confirmation.

We have seen that the earl had in the island a considerable military force, and we know from other sources * that they lived in a great measure at free quarters. We have his own testimony for stating, that he achieved his objects by imprisoning, until his prisoners '*promised to be good*;' and successively filling their places with others, until they also *conformed to his theory of public virtue*. And the reader will be prepared to hear, without surprise, that the same means enabled him, in 1645, to arrange a legislature † capable of yielding a forced assent to this notable system of submission and loving-kindness.

This is perhaps the most convenient place for stating, that in the subsequent surrender of the island to the troops of the Parliament, the only stipulation made by the islanders was, 'that they might enjoy their lands and liberties as they formerly had.' In what manner this stipulation was performed, my notes do not enable me to state. The restoration of Charles II., propitious in other respects, inflicted on the Isle of Man the revival of its feudal government; and the affair of the tenures continued to be

* Evidence on the mock trial of William Dhône.

† We shall see, by and by, a very simple method of packing a judicial and legislative body by removing and replacing seven individuals by one and the same mandate.

a theme of perpetual contest and unavailing complaint, until finally adjusted in 1703, through the mediation of the excellent Bishop Wilson, in a legislative compromise, known by the name of the Act of Settlement, whereby the people obtained a full recognition of their ancient rights, on condition of doubling the actual quit rents, and consenting to alienation fines, first exacted by the Earl James in 1643 *.

In 1648, William Dhône was appointed Receiver General; and in the same year we find his elder brother, John (Assistant Deemster to his father Ewan), committed to Peel Castle on one of these occasions, which strongly marks the character of the person and the times, and affords also a glimpse at the feeling of the people, and at the condition of the devoted family of Christian. The inquisitive will find it in a note †; other readers will pass on.

* Report of 1791. App. A. No. 71.

† A person named Charles Vaughan is brought to lodge an information, that being in England, he fell into company with a young man named Christian, who said he had lately left the Isle of Man, and was in search of a brother, who was clerk to a Parliament officer; that in answer to some questions, he said, 'The earl did use the inhabitants of that isle very hardly; had estreated great fines from the inhabitants; had changed the ancient tenures, and forced them to take leases. That he had taken away one hundred pounds a-year from his father, and had kept his uncle in prison four or five years. But if ever the earl came to England (he had used the inhabitants so hardly), that he was sure they would never suffer him to land in that island again.' An order is given to imprison John Christian; (probably the reputed head of the family, his father being advanced

The circumstances are familiarly known, to the reader of English history, of the march of the Earl of Derby in 1651, with a corps from the Isle of Man, for the service of the king; his joining the royal army on the eve of the battle of Worcester; his flight and imprisonment at Chester, after that signal defeat; and his trial and execution at Bolton, in Lancashire, by the officers of the Parliament, on the 15th of October of that year.

Immediately afterwards, Colonel Duckenfield, who commanded at Chester on behalf of the Parliament, proceeded with an armament of ten ships, and a considerable military force, for the reduction of the Isle of Man.

William Christian was condemned and executed in 1662-3, twelve years before, for acts connected with its surrender, which are still involved in obscurity; and it will be most acceptable to the general reader that we should pass over the intermediate period *, and leave the facts regarding

in years,) in Peel Castle, until he entered into bonds to be of good behaviour, and not to depart the isle without license.—(Insular Records.) The young man in question is said to have been the son of William Christian, of Knockrushen.

* Some readers may desire an outline of this period. The lordship of the island was given to Lord Fairfax, who deputed commissioners to regulate its affairs, one of them (Chaloner) published an account of the island in 1656. He puts down William Christian as Receiver-General in 1653. We find his name, as Governor, from 1656 to 1658 (Sacheverill, p. 101), in which year he was succeeded by Chaloner himself. Among the anomalies of those times, it would seem that he had retained the office of Receiver while officiating as

this individual, all of them extraordinary, and some of peculiar interest, to be developed by the record of the trial, and documents derived from other sources.

A mandate by Charles, eighth Earl of Derby, dated at Latham, in September 1662, after descanting on the heinous sin of rebellion, 'aggravated by its being instrumental * in the death of the lord; and stating that he is himself concerned to revenge a father's blood,' orders William Christian to be proceeded against forthwith, for all his illegal actions at, before, or after, the year 1651, (a pretty sweeping range). The indictment charges him with 'being the head of an insurrection against the Countess of Derby in 1651, assuming the power unto himself, and depriving her ladyship, his lordship, and heirs thereof.'

Governor; and Episcopacy having been abolished, and the receipts of the see added to those of the exchequer, he had large accounts to settle, for which Chaloner sequestered his estates in his absence, and imprisoned and held to bail his brother John, for aiding what he calls his escape: his son John returned from England, by permission of Lord Fairfax, to settle his father's accounts. Chaloner informs us, that the revenues of the suppressed see were not appropriated to the private use of Lord Fairfax, who, 'for the better encouragement and support of the ministers of the Gospel, and for the promoting of learning, had conferred all this revenue upon the ministers, and also for maintaining free schools—*i. e.* at Castletown, Peel, Dougless, and Ramsay.' Chaloner pays a liberal tribute to the talents of the clergy, and the learning and piety of the late bishops.

* See the remark in Christian's dying speech, that the late earl had been executed eight days before the insurrection.

A series of depositions appear on record from the 3d to the 13th of October, and a reference by the precious depositaries of justice of that day to the twenty-four keys*, 'Whether upon the examination taken and read before, you find Mr. W. Christian, of Ronalsway, within compass of the statute of 1422, that is, to receive a sentence *without quest*, or to be tried in the ordinary course of law.' This body, designated on the record, 'so many of the keys as were then present,' were in number seventeen; but not being yet sufficiently select to approve of *sentence without trial*, made their return, To be tried by course of law.

On the 26th of November, it is recorded, that the governor and attorney-general, having proceeded to the gaol 'with a guard of soldiers, to require him (Christian) to the bar to receive his trial, he refused, and denied to come, and abide the same—(admirable courtesy to invite, instead of bringing him to the bar)! Whereupon the governor demanded the law of Deemster Norris, who then sat in judication. Deemster John Christian having not appeared, and Mr. Edward Christian†, his son,

* The court for criminal trials was composed of the governor and council (including the deemsters) and the keys, who also, with the lord, composed the three branches of the legislative body; and it was the practice, in cases of doubt, to refer points of customary law to the deemsters and keys.

† The grandson of Evan. It appears by the proceedings of the king in council, 1663, that 'he did, when the court refused to admit of the deceased William Christian's plea of the act of indemnity,

and assistant, having also forborne to sit in this court, he, the said Deemster Norris, craved the advice and assistance of the twenty-four keys; and the said deemster and keys deemed the law therein, to wit, that he is at the mercy of the lord for life and goods.'

It will be observed, that seven of the keys were formerly absent, on what account we shall presently see. All this was very cleverly arranged by the following recorded order, 29th December; '*These of the twenty-four keys are removed of that company, in reference to my honourable lord's order in that behalf;*' enumerating seven names, not of the seventeen before mentioned, and seven others, who 'are sworn* in their places.' The judicature is farther improved by transferring an eighth individual of the first seventeen to the council, and filling his place with another proper person. These facts have been related with some minuteness of detail for two reasons: 1st, Although nearly equalled by some of the subsequent proceedings, they would not be credited on common authority; and, 2d, They render all comment unnecessary, and prepare the reader for any judgment,

make his protestation against their illegal proceedings, and did withdraw himself, and came to England to solicit his majesty, and implore his justice.'

* The commissioners of 1791 are in doubt regarding the time when, and the manner in which, the keys were first elected; this notable precedent had perhaps not fallen under their observation.

however extraordinary, to be expected from such a tribunal.

Then come the proceedings of the 29th of December—the proposals, as they are named, to the deemsters*, and twenty-four keys now assembled, ‘to be answered in point of law.’ ‘1st, Any malefactor, &c. being indicted, &c. and denying to abide the law of his country in that course (notwithstanding any argument or plea he may offer for himself), and thereupon deemed to forfeit body and goods, &c. whether he may afterwards obtain the same benefit, &c. &c. ;’ to which, on the same day, they answered in the negative. It was found practicable, on the 31st, to *bring* the prisoner to the bar, to hear his sentence of being ‘*shot to death, that thereupon his life may depart from his body,*’ which sentence was executed on the 2d of January 1663.

That he made “an excellent speech” at the place of execution, is recorded, where we should little expect to find it, in the Parochial Register; the accuracy of that which has been preserved as such in the family of a clergyman, (and appears to have been printed on or before 1776 †,) rests chiefly on internal evidence; and on its accordance, in some material points, with facts suppressed or distorted in the records, but established in the proceedings

* Hugh Cannel was now added as a second deemster.

† One of the copies in my possession is stated to be transcribed in that year from the printed speech, the other as stated in the text.

of the Privy Council. It is therefore given without abbreviation, and the material points of evidence in the voluminous depositions on both trials * are extracted for reference in a note †.

* Both trials : the first is for the same purposes as the English grand jury, with this most especial difference, that evidence is admitted for the prisoner, and it thus becomes what it is frequently called, the first trial : the second, if the indictment be found, is in all respects like that by petty jury in England.

† This testimony will of course be received with due suspicion, and confronted with the only defence known, that of his dying speech. It goes to establish, that Christian had placed himself at the head of an association bound by a secret oath, to "withstand the lady of Derby in her designs, until she had yielded or condescended to their aggrievances;" among which grievances, during the earl's residence, we find, incidentally noticed, "the troop that was in the isle and their free quarterage:" that he had represented her ladyship to have deceived him, by entering into negotiations with the Parliament, contrary to her promise to communicate with him in such a case; that Christian and his associates declared that she was about to sell them for two-pence or three-pence a-piece; that he told his associates, that he had entered into correspondence with Major Fox and the Parliament, and received their authority to raise the country; that in consequence of this insurrection her ladyship appointed commissioners to treat with others "on the part of the country," and articles of agreement were concluded (see the speech) which no where now appear; that on the appearance of Duckenfield's ships, standing for Ramsay Bay, one of the insurgents boarded them off Douglas, "to give intelligence of the condition of the country;" that the disposable troops marched under the governor, Sir Philip Musgrave, for Ramsay; that when the shipping had anchored, a deputation of three persons, viz. John Christian, Ewan Curphey, and William Standish, proceeded on board, to negotiate for the surrender of the island (where William was does not appear). The destruction of the articles of agreement, and the silence

The last speech of William Christian, Esq. who was executed 2d January, 1662-3.

“ Gentlemen, and the rest of you who have access of the records regarding the relative strength of the forces, leave us without the means of determining the degree of merit or demerit to be ascribed to these negociators, or the precise authority under which they acted ; but the grievances to be redressed, are cleared from every obscurity, by the all-sufficient testimony of the terms demanded from the victors, “ that they might enjoy their lands and liberties as formerly they had ; and that it was demanded whether they asked any more, but nothing else was demanded that this examinant heard of.” The taking of Loyal Fort, near Ramsay (commanded by Major Duckenfield, who was made prisoner), and of Peel Castle, appear on record ; but nothing could be found regarding the surrender of Castle Rushen, or of the Countess of Derby’s subsequent imprisonment. Had the often repeated tale, of William Christian having “ treacherously seized upon the lady and her children, with the governors of both castles, in the middle of the night ”—Rolt’s History of the Isle of Man, published in 1773, p. 89)—rested on the slightest semblance of truth, we should inevitably have found an attempt to prove it in the proceedings of this mock trial. In the absence of authentic details, the tradition may be adverted to, that her ladyship, on learning the proceedings at Ramsay, hastened to embark in a vessel she had prepared, but was intercepted before she could reach it. The same uncertainty exists with regard to any negotiations on her part, with the officers of the Parliament, as affirmed by the insurgents ; the earl’s first letter, after his capture, and before his trial, says, “ Truly, as matters go, it will be best for you to make conditions for yourself, children, and friends, in the manner as we have proposed, or as you can further agree with Colonel Duckenfield ; who, being so much a gentleman born, will doubtless, for his own honour, deal fairly with you.” (He seems also to have hoped at that time that it might influence his own fate : and the eloquent and affecting letter, written immediately before his execution, repeats the same admonitions to treat.)—Rolt, p. 74 and 84.

accompanied me this day to the gate of death, I know you expect I should say something at my departure; and, indeed, I am in some measure willing to satisfy you, having not had the least liberty, since my imprisonment, to acquaint any with the sadness of my sufferings, which flesh and blood could not have endured without the power and assistance of my most gracious and good God, into whose hands I do now commit my poor soul, not doubting, but that I shall very quickly be in the arms of his mercy.

“ I am, as you now see, hurried hither by the power of a *pretended court of justice*, the members whereof, or at least the greatest part of them, are by no means qualified, but very ill befitting their new places. The reasons you may give yourselves.

“ The cause for which I am brought hither, as the *prompted and threatened* jury has delivered, is high treason against the Countess Dowager of Derby, for that I did, as they say, in the year fifty-one, raise a force against her for the suppressing and rooting out that family. How unjust the accusation is, very few of you that hear me this day but can witness; and *that the then rising of the people*, in which afterwards I came to be engaged, did not all, or in the least degree, intend the prejudice or ruin of that family; *the chief whereof being, as you well remember, dead eight days, or thereabout, before that action happened.* But the true cause of that rising, *as the jury did twice bring in,*

was to present grievances to our honourable lady ; which was done by me, and afterwards approved by her ladyship, under the hand of her then Secretary, M. Trevach, who is yet living, *which agreement hath since, to my own ruin, and my poor family's enaless sorrow, been forced from me* The Lord God forgive them the injustice of their dealings with me, and I wish from my heart it may not be laid to their charge another day.

“ You now see me here *a sacrifice ready to be offered up for that which was the preservation of your lives and fortunes, which were then in hazard, but that I stood between you and your* (then in all appearance) *utter ruin.* I wish you still may, as hitherto, enjoy the sweet benefit and blessing of peace, though from that minute until now, I have still been prosecuted and persecuted, nor have I ever since found a place to rest myself in. But my God be for ever blessed and praised, who hath given me so large a measure of patience!

“ What services I have done for that Noble Family, by whose power I am now to take my latest breath, I dare appeal to themselves, whether I have not deserved better things from some of them, than the sentence of my bodily destruction, and seizure of the poor estate my son ought to enjoy, being purchased and left him by his grandfather. It might have been much better had I not spent it in the service of my Honourable Lord of Derby and his family ; these things I need not

mention to you, for that most of you are witnesses to it. I shall now beg your patience while I tell you here, in the presence of God, that I never in all my life acted any thing with intention to prejudice my Sovereign Lord the King, nor the late Earl of Derby, nor the now Earl; yet notwithstanding, *being in England at the time* of his sacred Majesty's happy restoration, I went to London, with many others, to have a sight of my gracious King, whom God preserve, and whom until then I had never seen. But I was not long there, when I was arrested upon an action of twenty thousand pounds, and clapped up in the Fleet; unto which action, I being a stranger, could give no bail, but was there kept nearly a whole year. How I suffered, God he knows; but at last, having gained my liberty, I thought good to advise with several gentlemen concerning his Majesty's gracious Act of Indemnity, that was then set forth, in which I thought myself concerned; unto which, they told me, there was no doubt to be made but that all actions committed in the Isle of Man, relating in any kind to the war, were pardoned by the act of Indemnity, and all other places within his Majesty's dominions and countries. Whereupon, and having been forced to absent myself from my poor wife and children near three years, being all that time under persecution, I did with great content and satisfaction, return into this island, hoping then to receive the comfort and sweet enjoyment of my friends and

poor family. But, alas ! I have fallen into the snare of the fowler ; but my God shall ever be praised,—though he kill me, yet will I trust in him.

“ I may justly say, no man in this island knows better than myself the power the Lord Derby hath in this island, subordinate to his sacred Majesty, of which *I have given a full account in my declaration presented to my judges, which I much fear will never see light **, which is no small trouble to me.

“ It was His Majesty’s most gracious Act of Indemnity gave me the confidence and assurance of my safety ; on which, and an appeal I made to his sacred Majesty and Privy Council, from the unjustness of the proceedings had against me, I did much rely, being his Majesty’s subject here, and a denizen of England, both by birth and fortune. And *in regard I have disobeyed the power of my Lord of Derby’s Act of Indemnity, which you now look upon, and his Majesty’s Act cast out as being of no force*, I have with greater violence been persecuted ; yet nevertheless I do declare, that no subject whatever can or ought to take upon them acts of indemnity, but his sacred Majesty only, with the confirmation of parliament.

“ It is very fit I should say something as to my education and religion. I think I need not inform you, for you all know I was brought up a son of the Church of England, which was at that time in her splendour and glory ; and to my endless comfort I have ever since continued a faithful member, witness

* The apprehension was but too correct.

several of my actions in the late times of liberty. And as for government, I never was against monarchy, which now, to my soul's great satisfaction, I have lived to see is settled and established. I am well assured that men of upright life and conversation may have the favourable countenance of our gracious king, under whose happy government God, of his infinite mercy, long continue these his kingdoms and dominions. And now I do most heartily thank my good God that I have had so much liberty and time to disburden myself of several things that have laid heavy upon me all the time of my imprisonment, in which I have not had *time, or liberty, to speak or write* any of my thoughts; and from my soul I wish all animosity may after my death be quite laid aside, and my death by none be called in question, for I do freely forgive all that have had any hand in my persecution; and may our good God preserve you all in peace and quiet the remainder of your days.

“Be ye all of you his Majesty's liege people, loyal and faithful to his sacred Majesty; and according to your oath of faith and fealty to my honourable Lord of Derby, do you likewise, in all just and lawful ways, observe his commands; and know that you must one day give an account of all your deeds. And now the blessing of Almighty God be with you all, and preserve you from violent death, and keep you in peace of conscience all your days.

“ I will now hasten, for my flesh is willing to be dissolved, and my spirit to be with God, who hath given me full assurance of his mercy and pardon for all my sins, of which his unspeakable goodness and loving-kindness my poor soul is exceedingly satisfied.”

Note.—Here he fell upon his knees, and passed some time in prayer; then rising exceedingly cheerful, he addressed the soldiers appointed for his execution, saying, “ Now for you, who are appointed by lot to be my executioners, I do freely forgive you.” He requested them and all present to pray for him, adding, “ There is but a thin veil betwixt me and death; once more I request your prayers, for now I take my last farewell.”

The soldiers wished to bind him to the spot on which he stood. He said, “ Trouble not yourselves or me; for I that dare face death in whatever form he comes, will not start at your fire and bullets; nor can the power you have deprive me of my courage.” At his desire a piece of white paper was given him, which with the utmost composure he pinned to his breast, to direct them where to aim; and after a short prayer addressed the soldiers thus, “ Hit this, and you do your own and my work.” And presently after, stretching forth his arms, which was the signal he gave them, he was shot through the heart, and fell.

Edward Christian, the nephew, and George, the son of the deceased, lost no time in appealing to

his Majesty in council against this judicial murder; and George was furnished with an order "to pass and repass," &c., "and bring with him such records and persons as he should desire, to make out the truth of his complaint." Edward returned with him to the island for that purpose; for we find him, in April 1663, compelled, in the true spirit of the day, to give bond "that he would at all times appear and answer to such charges as might be preferred against him, and *not depart the isle without licence.*" George was prevented, by various contrivances, from serving the king's order; but on presenting a second petition, the governor, deemster, and members of council, were brought up to London by a serjeant at arms; and these six persons, together with the Earl of Derby, being compelled to appear, a full hearing took place before the king in person, the chancellor, the lord chief justice, lord chief baron, and other members of council; judgment was extended on the 5th August, and that judgment was on the 14th of the same month ordered "to be printed in folio, in such manner as acts of Parliament are usually printed, and his Majesty's arms prefixed."

This *authentic document* designates the persons brought up as "*members of the pretended court of justice*;" declares "that the general act of pardon and amnesty did extend to the Isle of Man, and ought to have been taken notice of by the judges in that island, *although it had not been*

pleaded; that the court *refused to admit* the deceased William Christian's *plea* of the Act of Indemnity," &c. "Full restitution is ordered to be made to his heirs of all his estates, real and personal." Three* other persons, "who were by the same court of justice imprisoned, and their estates *seized and confiscated without any legal trial*," are ordered, together with the Christians, "to be restored to all their estates, real and personal, and to be fully repaired in all the charges and expenses which they have been at since their first imprisonment, as well in the prosecution of this business as in their journey hither, or in any other way thereunto relating." The mode of raising funds for the purposes of this restitution, is equally peculiar and instructive: these "sums of money are ordered to be furnished by the deemsters, members, and assistants of the said court of justice," who are directed "to raise and make due payment thereof to the parties."

"And to the end that the blood that has been unjustly spilt may in some sort be expiated," &c. the deemsters are ordered to be committed to the King's Bench, to be proceeded against, &c. &c. and to receive condign punishment. [It is believed that this part of the order was afterwards relaxed or rendered nugatory.] The three members of council were released on giving security to appear,

* Ewan Curphey, Samuel Ratcliffe, and John Cæsar, men of considerable landed property,

if required, and to make the restitution ordered. "And in regard that Edward Christian, being one of the deemsters, or judges in the Isle of Man, *did, when the court refused to admit of the deceased W. Christian's plea of the Act of Indemnity, make his protestation against their illegal proceedings, and did withdraw himself, and come to England to solicit his Majesty and implore his justice*, it is ordered, that the Earl of Derby do forthwith, by commission, &c., restore and appoint him as deemster, so to remain and continue, &c. (which order was disobeyed.) And lastly, that Henry Nowell, deputy governor, whose fault hath been *the not complying with, and yielding due obedience to, the order* of his Majesty and this board sent unto the island*"—(O most lame and impotent conclusion!) "be permitted to return to the isle, and enforce the present order of the king in council."

Of the Earl of Derby no further mention occurs in this document. The sacrifices made by this noble family in support of the royal cause, drew a large share of indulgence over the exceptionable parts of their conduct; but the mortification necessarily consequent upon this appeal, the incessant complaints of the people, and the difficulty subsequently experienced by them in obtaining access to a superior tribunal, receive a curious illustration

* Tradition, in accordance with the ditty of William Dhône, says, that the order to stop proceedings and suspend the sentence arrived on the day preceding that of his execution.

in an order of the king in council, dated 20th August 1670, on a petition of the Earl of Derby, "that the clerk of the council in waiting receive no petition, appeal, or complaint, *against the lord or government of the Isle of Man*, without having first good security from the complainant to answer costs, damages, and charges." The historical notices of this kingdom* of Lilliput are curious and instructive with reference to other times and different circumstances, and they have seemed to require little comment or antiquarian remark; but to condense what may be collected with regard to Edward Christian, the accomplished villain of Peveril, the insinuations of his accuser† constitute in themselves an abundant defence. When so little can be imputed by such an adversary, the character must indeed be invulnerable. Tradition ascribes to him nothing but what is amiable, patriotic, honourable, and good, in all the relations of public and private life. He died, after an imprisonment of seven or eight years, the victim of incorrigible obstinacy, according to one, of ruthless tyranny, according to another vocabulary; but resembling the character of the novel in nothing but unconquerable courage.

* Earl James, although studious of kingcraft, assigns good reasons for having never pretended to assume that title; and among others, "Nor doth it please a king that any of his subjects should too much love that name, were it but to act in a play."—*Peck*, 436.

† *Peck*.

Treachery and ingratitude have been heaped on the memory of William Christian with sufficient profusion. Regarding the first of these crimes: if all that has been affirmed or insinuated in the mock trial, rested on a less questionable basis, posterity would scarcely pronounce an unanimous verdict, of moral and political guilt, against an association to subvert such a government as is described by its own author. The *peculiar* favours for which he or his family were ungrateful, are not to be discovered in these proceedings; except, indeed, in the form of the chastisements of the Almighty—blessings in disguise.” But if credit be given to the dying words of William Christian, his efforts were strictly limited to a redress of grievances,—a purpose always criminal in the eye of the oppressor. If he had lived and died on a larger scene, his memory would probably have survived among the patriots and the heroes. In some of the manuscript narratives he is designated as a *martyr* for the rights and liberties of his countrymen; who add, in their homely manner, that he was condemned without trial, and murdered without remorse.

We have purposely abstained from all attempt to enlist the passions in favour of the sufferings of a people, or in detestation of oppressions, which ought, perhaps, to be ascribed as much to the character of the times as to that of individuals. The naked facts of the case (unaided by the wild and plaintive notes in which the maidens of the isle

were wont to bewail “*the* heart-rending death of fair-haired William,*”) are sufficient of themselves to awaken the sympathy of every generous mind ; and it were a more worthy exercise of that despotic power over the imagination, so eminently possessed by the great unknown, to embalm the remembrance of two such men in his immortal pages, than to load their memories with crimes, such as no human being ever committed.

STATE OF SOCIETY AT THE ERA OF IVANHOE, (*from the Rev. R. Warner's Illustrations, Historical, Biographical, and Miscellaneous, of the Novels by the author of Waverley, &c.*)

SHOWING the state of Society at the era of Ivanhoe, and a few years before and after, Mr. W. says—

“William (surnamed Rufus), the third son of the Conqueror, succeeded his father in the throne of England ; but inherited neither his wisdom nor his steady greatness†. No marked alteration for the

* The literal translation furnished by a young lady.

† The old metrical chronicler, Robert of Gloucester, has given an anecdote of Rufus, very characteristic of his childish vanity, or insane extravagance. Divested of its obsolete orthography, it is as follows :

As his chamberlain him brought, as he arose one day
The morrow for to wear, a pair of hose of sey,
He ask'd what they cost him ? Three shillings, the other said,
Fy a dibles ! quoth the king. Who says so vile a deed ?
A king wear any cloth but what should cost him more ;
Buy a pair of a mark, or you shall rue it sore !
A worse pair full enough the other sith him bought,
And said they cost a mark, and therefore so were brought ;

better in the general state of England characterizes his reign, though the seeds of national improvement sown by the Conqueror were gradually but silently unfolding themselves. His extension of the forest law, indeed, to inflictions of the most cruel and disproportioned description, go far towards branding Rufus as a tyrant ; but the charge is, in some measure, balanced by the encouragement which he afforded to the rising spirit of chivalry and knight-errantry ; a system, which, in an age of comparative ignorance, rudeness, and precarious submission to law, had the most direct tendency to meliorate the manners of those who felt its influence ; and to inspire them with sentiments of *prowess, generosity, gallantry, and religion*.

“ Henry I. (the youngest son of the Conqueror) was a scholar and a statesman. The title of *Beauclerc* evinces his claim to the former character ; and that of the “ *Lion of Justice* ” marks his regard to those sacred obligations of law and equity, the public observance of which constitutes the surest bond of social happiness and order. - - -

“ The worst action of Henry was the treatment of his brother Robert ; imprisoning him, and when he attempted to escape, putting out his eyes. Hollingshed's account of Robert's death is somewhat singular and affecting.

A bel Amy, quoth the king, these are now well bought ;
In this manner serve thou me, or thou shalt serve me not.

“ ‘ It is sayde that, on a festival day, King Henrie put on a robe of scarlet, the cape whereof being strayte, hee rent it in striving to put it over hys heade; and perceyving it would not serve him, hee layed it aside, and sayde, Let my brother Robert have this garment, who hath a sharper head than I have. The which, when it was brought to Duke Robert, the rent place not being sewed up, he discovered it, and asked whether any man had worn it before. The messenger told the whole matter; how it happened. Hereupon Duke Robert tooke such a greefe, for the scornful mocke of his brother, that he waxed wearie of his life, and sayde, Nowe I perceyve I have lived too long, that my brother shall clothe me like his almes-man with his cast rent garments. And thus cursing the time of his nativity, refused from thenceforth to eate or drink, and so pined away, and was buried at Gloucester.’ ”

From this example the nature of the *historical* illustrations may be surmised; and the following will, we trust, equally exhibit the character of the biographical:

“ The intellectual qualities of Richard I. (as we have before hinted) were far from being contemptible; and had they been unfolded by education, and nourished by leisure and study, would have thrown some lustre on the age in which he lived. Several pointed sayings and smart answers have been recorded of him, that shew quickness of perception and readiness in repartee. When he sold

the earldom of Northumberland to the Bishop of Durham, he said with a laugh, 'Am I not cunning to make a young earl out of an old bishop?' To a Frenchman who told him that he (Richard) had three daughters, whom he must part with, pride, avarice, and voluptuousness; 'Then,' said he, 'I give to the Knights Templars my pride,—to the Carmelites my avarice,—and to the clergy my voluptuousness.' And having taken a bishop prisoner in a skirmish, and put him into fetters, the prelates complained to the Pope, who desired Richard not to detain in prison his *dear son* in the faith. The King sent the Pope the armour in which the bishop had been taken, with this message: 'We found him in this dress; see whether it be your son's coat or not.' The pontiff was not behind-hand in joke with Richard, but returned for answer, 'No, not my son's, but some imp of Mars, who may deliver him, if he can; I will not interfere.'

"We have before mentioned Richard's poetical taste, which always indicates a mind capable of greater things than the groveling pursuits of mere sense. Its productions must not be tried by the modern gauge of literary merit; but they are not behind the standard of the poetical talent of the times in which he lived. One of these curious effusions is the following *sirvente*, which he composed during his captivity in Germany:—

"'No prisoner can speak justly of his misfortunes without grief: yet for his solace he may make a

song. He may have friends; but how poor are their gifts! They should feel shame, that two winters are passed without my ransom.

“My English, Norman, Gascon, Poitou Barons, I have had no companion so miserable, whose deliverance I would not have purchased. I will not reproach you; but—I am still a prisoner!

“It is indeed true, that a dead man has neither relations nor friends; since, to save some gold and silver, I am abandoned! I am suffering from my misfortunes; but I suffer more from the want of feeling in my subjects! How reproachful to them, if I should die in captivity!

“I am not surprized that I should grieve. My feudal sovereign is ravaging my lands, although we swore to respect each other's possessions. But one thing consoles me,—I will not be slow in taking my revenge.

“Chail and Pensaivin! my minstrels! my friends! I have loved you! I love you now. Sing, that my enemies will have little glory in attacking me; that I have not shewn to them a heart false and perfidious; that they will act like real villains if they war against me while I am in prison!

“Lady Soir, heaven guard your sovereign merit! and her's whom I claim, and to whom I am a captive!

“The only other poem of Richard's which has been preserved, is a *sirvente* against the Dauphin of Auvergne, and his cousin, whose alliance against

the French king, Richard had solicited in vain." It is much in the same fashion.

The miscellaneous parts embrace accounts of orders of knighthood, tournaments, combats, crusades, and other distinguished features of the age; and we shall conclude our notice with a selection as miscellaneous as the author's own plan.

Speaking of the sports of the field, and their ardent pursuit by churchmen, we are told—

"Walter, Archdeacon of Canterbury, who was promoted to the see of Rochester in 1147, spent the whole of his time in *hunting*, to the utter neglect of all the high duties of his office. He lived to a very advanced age; and, when eighty years old, was as keen a sportsman as ever.

"Of the same character and habits was Reginald Brian, translated to the see of Worcester, in 1352. In an extant manuscript epistle of his, addressed to the Bishop of St. David's, Reginald reminds the holy father of a promise which he had made to send him six brace of excellent hunting dogs; the best (as the sportsman confesses) that he had ever seen. Of these Reginald says, he had been in daily anxious expectation; and he declares that his heart languished for their arrival. 'Let them come then (he intreats,) oh! reverend father, without delay: let my woods re-echo with the music of their cry, and the cheerful notes of the horn; and let the walls of my palace be decorated with the trophies of the chase.'

“William de Clowne, whom his biographer celebrates as the most amiable ecclesiastic that ever filled the abbot’s throne of St. Mary’s in Leicestershire, was a deep adept in all the mysteries of hunting. That his kennel might always be well supplied, he requested Richard II. to grant him a market or fair for the sale and purchase of sporting dogs; a request which the king complied with, seeing the abbot *passionately* desired it. He was, continues his eulogist, the most famous and knowing sportsman after a hare in the kingdom; insomuch that the king himself, prince Edward his son, and most of the grandees in the realm, allowed him annual pensions for his instructions in the art of hare-hunting.

“Chaucer, the admirable and faithful painter of the manners of his age, has given us a very particular and amusing portrait of a sporting monastic of the fourteenth century; the original (probably) from which the abbot in *Ivanhoe* is copied.

Of the Game then hunted.

“The wolf, wild boar, and roebuck, have long since disappeared. The particular periods when the two former became extinct in this country, cannot, probably, be ascertained. The history and fall of the roebuck are better known. He continued to be an inhabitant of England till within the last 80 years; and was not unfrequently met with on the wastes, a small distance from Hexham in Northumberland. As the breed, however, became gradually

more scarce, it was sought for with greater eagerness; so that after enduring the united attacks of the dog and gun for a few seasons, it at length dwindled into one solitary animal, which, about sixty years since, is said to have been destroyed by — — Whitfield, Esq. of Whitfield, in Northumberland."

Good living was as heartily patronized as hard exercise:

"In the thirteenth year of his reign, on his return from an excursion into Normandy, Rufus reared that spacious edifice, known by the name of Westminster Hall, which to this day boasts a superiority, with respect to size, over every other room in Europe of a similar construction. This was the theatre of royal revelry, and here Rufus held a magnificent feast on the Whitsuntide after it was completed. Vast, however, as the fabric was, it did not equal the ideas of the extravagant monarch; for, it being observed to him by one of his courtiers, that the building was too large for the purposes of its construction, the king answered, 'This halle is not begge enough by one half, and is but a bed-chamber in comparison of that I minde to make.' Stowe adds, 'a diligent searcher might yet finde out the foundation of the Hall which he hadde purposed to build, stretching from the river Thames even to the common highway.'

"The luxury of the English, as far as it regarded the table, during the succeeding reigns, from Rufus

to the end of Henry III. seems to have increased to a pitch of extreme excess; for, in the thirty-fourth year of this monarch, the legislature was under the necessity of exerting its controlling power; and on common occasions, more than two dishes of meat were forbidden to be produced at one meal. - - -

“ It was about this period that the peacock became a favourite dish at the tables of the great, where it was served up with many solemnities. - - - In the thirteenth century it was sufficiently esteemed to be made the prize of the conqueror at the game of *quintain*. ‘ Et eodem tempore juvenes Londinenses statuto pavone pro bravio, ad stadium quod *quinten* vulgariter dicitur, viris proprias et equorum cursus sunt experti.’—Matt. Paris, edit. Watts, p. 744. This bird continued to be a dish in request till the end of the last century. Hollingshed has given us a curious anecdote of Pope Julius III., that disgrace to the Romish see, an egregious glutton and epicure, whose favourite dish was the peacock: ‘ At another time, he, sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacocke upon his table, which he had not touched, ‘ Keepe,’ said he, ‘ this cold peacocke for me against supper, and let me sup in the garden, for I shall have ghests.’ So when supper came, and amongst other hot peacockes, he saw not this cold peacocke brought to his table, the Pope, after his wonted manner, most horribly blaspheming God, fell into an extreame rage, &c.; whereupon, one of his Cardinals, sitting by, desired him, sayeng, ‘ Let not your Holiness, I pray you, be so moved

with a matter of so small weight.' Then this Julius the Pope, answering again, 'What,' said he, 'if God was so angry for one apple, that he cast our first parents out of Paradise for the same, why may not I, being his vicar, be angry then for a peacocke, sithens a peacocke is a greater matter than an apple?'—*Hol. Chron.* p. 1128, a. 40."

PARTICULARS OF SIR LEWIS STUCLEY, WHO BETRAYED SIR WALTER RAWLEIGH.

"I HAVE discovered (says Mr. D'Israeli, after relating all the particulars from Rawleigh's landing in Devon till his arrest, in attempting to escape down the Thames) the secret history of Sir Lewis Stucley, in several manuscript letters of the times.

"Rawleigh, in his admirable address from the scaffold, where he seemed to be rather one of the spectators than the sufferer, declared he forgave Sir Lewis, for he had forgiven all men; but he was bound in charity to caution all men against him, and such as he is! Rawleigh's last and solemn notice of the treachery of his 'kinsman and friend' was irrevocably fatal to this wretch. The hearts of the people were open to the deepest impressions of sympathy, melting into tears at the pathetic address of the magnanimous spirit who had touched them: in one moment Sir Lewis Stucley became an object of execration throughout the nation; he soon obtained a new title as 'Sir Judas,' and was shunned by every man. To remove the Cain-like mark,

which God and men had fixed on him, he published an apology for his conduct ; a performance, which, at least for its ability, might raise him in our consideration ; but I have since discovered, in one of the manuscript letter-writers, that it was written by Dr. Sharpe, who had been a chaplain to Henry, Prince of Wales. The writer pleads in Stucley's justification, that he was a state agent ; that it was lawful to lie for the discovery of treason ; that he had a personal hatred towards Rawleigh, for having abridged his father of his share of some prize-money ; and then enters more into Rawleigh's character, who, 'being desperate of any fortune here, agreeable to the height of his mind, would have made up his fortune elsewhere, upon any terms against his sovereign and his country. Is it not marvel,' continues the personifier of Stucley, 'that he was angry with me at his death for bringing him back ? Besides, being a man of so great a wit, it was no small grief, that a man of mean wit as I should be thought to go beyond him. No ? *Sic ars deluditer arte. Neque enim lex justior ulla est quam necis artifices arte perire sua.* [This apt latinity betrays Dr. Sharpe.] But why did you not execute your commission bravely (openly ?—Why ? My commission was to the contrary, to discover his pretensions, and to seize his secret papers,' &c.

“But the Doctor, though no unskilful writer, here wrote in vain ; for what ingenuity can veil the turpi-

tude of long and practised treachery? To keep up appearances, Sir Judas resorted more than usually to court, where, however, he was perpetually enduring rebuffs, or avoided as one infected with the plague of treachery. He offered the king, in his own justification, to take the sacrament, that whatever he had laid to Rawleigh's charge was true, and would produce two unexceptionable witnesses to do the like. 'Why, then,' replied his majesty, 'the more malicious was Sir Walter to utter these speeches at his death.' Sir Thomas Badger, who stood by, observed, 'Let the king take off Stucley's head, as Stucley has done Sir Walter's, and let him at his death take the sacrament and his oath upon it, and I'll believe him; but till Stucley loses his head, I shall credit Sir Walter Rawleigh's bare affirmative before a thousand of Stucley's oaths.' When Stucley, on pretence of giving an account of his office, placed himself in the audience chamber of the Lord Admiral, and his lordship passed him without any notice, Sir Judas attempted to address the earl; but, with a bitter look, his lordship exclaimed, 'Base fellow! darest thou, who art the scorn and contempt of men, offer thyself in my presence? Were it not in my own house, I would cudgel thee with my staff for presuming on this sauciness.' This annihilating affront Stucley hastened to convey to the king; his majesty answered him, 'What wouldst thou have me do? Wouldst thou have me hang

him? Of my saul, if I should hang all that speak ill of thee, all the trees of the country would not suffice, so great is the number!’

“ One of the frequent crimes of that age, ere the forgery of bank-notes existed, was the clipping of gold; and this was one of the private amusements suitable to the character of our Sir Judas. Treachery and forgery are the same crime in a different form. Stucley received out of the exchequer five hundred pounds, as the reward of his *espionage* and perfidy. It was the price of blood, and was hardly in his hands ere it was turned into the fraudulent coin of ‘the Cheater!’ He was seized on in the palace of Whitehall for diminishing the gold coin. ‘The manner of the discovery,’ says the manuscript writer, ‘was strange, if my occasions would suffer me to relate the particulars.’ On his examination, he attempted to shift the crime to his own son, who had flown, and on his man, who, being taken, in the words of the letter-writer, was willing to set the saddle upon the right horse, and accused his master.’ Manoury, too, the French empiric, was arrested at Plymouth for the same crime, and accused his worthy friend. But such was the interest of Stucley with government, bought probably with his last shilling, and, as one says, with his last shirt, that he obtained his own and his son’s pardon, for a crime that ought to have finally concluded the history of this blessed family. A more solemn and tragical catastrophe was reserved for

the perfidious Stucley. He was deprived of his place of Vice-Admiral, and left destitute in the world. Abandoned by all human beings, and, most probably, by the son whom he had tutored into the arts of villainy, he appears to have wandered about an infamous and distracted beggar. It is possible that even so seared a conscience may have retained some remaining touch of sensibility.

- - - All are men
 Condemned alike to groan ;
 The tender for another's pain,
 THE UNFEELING FOR HIS OWN.

And Camden has recorded, among his historical notes on James I., that in August, 1620, 'Lewis Stucley, who betrayed Sir Walter Rawleigh, died in a manner mad.' Such is the catastrophe of one of the most perfect domestic tales ; an historical example not easily paralleled of moral retribution."

WANSTEAD HOUSE: AGE OF ELIZABETH.

(*From the Literary Gazette.*)

THE following abstract of a paper which is contained in the works of one of the brightest ornaments of the Elizabethan age, Sir P. Sidney, is not without interest, as his works are now scarce.

When Wanstead House was in the possession of the Earl of Leicester, Queen Elizabeth visited her favourite, and, as was the custom of that day, a sort of rural Drama was performed for her amusement in the gardens, which is thus described by Sir Philip Sidney :—

“ Her most excellent Majesty walking in Wanstead Garden, as she passed down into the grove, there came suddenly among the train one appparelled like an honest man’s wife of the country, where, crying out for justice, and desiring all the lords and gentlemen to speak a good word for her; she was brought to the presence of her Majesty, to whom, upon her knees, she offered a supplication, and used this speech :—

“ ‘ Most fair lady, for as for other your titles of state, statelier persons shall give you, and thus much mine eyes are witness of; take here the complaint of me, poor wretch, as deeply plunged in misery as I wish to you the highest point of happiness.’ ”

The speech proceeds in the same strain, shewing that she has a daughter that was all in all to her; but that having arrived at the age when she would be likely to recompense all the pain and uneasiness she caused her parent, she was “ troubled with that notable matter, which in the country we call matrimony,”—in fact, that the girl had two lovers who were at that moment pleading their cause. The speech concludes—“ I dare stay here no longer, for our men say in the country the sight of you is infectious.”

The supPLICATOR had no sooner retired, than a noise proceeded from the wood, and six shepherds and others were perceived dragging the damsel, who is designated as the “ Lady of the May,” towards the Queen; amongst them was “ Master Rombus, a schoolmaster of a village thereby, who

being fully persuaded of his own learned wisdom, came thither with his authority to part their fray, where for answer he had received many unlearned blows." They knew not the estate "of the Queen; yet something there was which made them startle aside and gaze upon her; till old Father Lalus stepped forth (one of the substantialest shepherds,) and making a leg or two, said a few words," confirming the statement of the first speaker, "that a certain she creature, which shepherds called a woman, had disannulled the brains of two of their young men;" and calling upon the schoolmaster to give an explanation of the whole affair, as Master Rombus could "much better vent the points of the tale."

"Then came forward Master Rombus, and with many special graces made this learned oration:—

"Now the thunder-thumping Jupiter transfund his dotes into your excellent formosity, which have with your resplendent beams thus segregated the enmity of these rural animals. I am *Potentissima Domina*, a schoolmaster, that is to say, a pedagogue, one not a little versed in the disciplinating of the juvenile fry, wherein (to my laud I say it) I use such geometrical proportion as neither wanted mansuetude nor correction; for so it is described—*Parcare subjectos et debellare superbos* *. Yet not the pulchritude of my virtues protected me from the contaminating hands of

* We presume that the Pedagogue's Latin is intentionally bad.—
Ed.

these plebeians, for coming *solummodo* to have parted their sanguinolent fray, they yielded me no more reverence than if I had been some *pecorius asinus*. I, even I, that am—who am I?—*Dixi verbum sapientisatum est*. But what said that Trojan Æneas, when he sojourned in the surging sulkes of the sandiferous sea?—*Hæc olim memonasse juvebit*. Well, well, *ad propositos revertēbo*. The purity of the verity is, that a certain *pulchra puella profecto*, elected and constituted by the integrated determination of all this topographical region, as the sovereign lady of this dame May's month hath been *quodammodo* hunted, as you would say, pursued by two, a brace, a couple, a cast of young men, to whom the crafty coward Cupid had, inquam, delivered his dire dolorous dart."

He is here interrupted by the Lady of the May, who becomes impatient. After Rombus's pursuing his oration, he is again interrupted with this exorbitant flattery of the Queen from the Lady of May :

"Leave off, good Latin fool, and let me satisfy the long desire I have had to feed mine eyes with the only sight this age hath granted to the world."

She then informs her of the situation in which she is placed, as being Lady of the May, and having two suitors, whom she thus describes :

"Therion and Espilus have been long in love with me. The first is a forester, the latter a shep-

herd, I like them both, and love neither. Espilus is the richer, but Therion the livelier. Therion doth me many pleasures, as stealing me venison out of the forest, and many other such like pretty and prettier services; but withal he grows to such rages, that sometimes he strikes me, sometimes he rails at me. This shepherd Espilus, of a mild disposition, as his fortune hath not been to do me great service, so hath he never done me any wrong; but feeding his sheep, sitting under some sweet bush, sometimes, they say, he records my name in doleful verses. Now the question I am to ask you, fair Lady, is, whether the many deserts and many faults of Therion, or the very small deserts and no faults of Espilus, be to be preferred. But before you give your judgment, Lady, you shall hear what each of them can say for themselves in their rural songs."

The song follows, in which they alternately quote qualifications on which they found their title to their mistress's regards.—The concluding couplet runs thus :

" Espilus kneeling to the Queen.

Judge you, to whom all beauty's force is lent.

Therion.

Judge you of love, to whom all love is bent."

Her Majesty's judgment is deferred some time by an altercation which takes place between the shepherds and foresters as to the respective abilities of the rivals, as poets. The chief speakers were Do-

nas, an old shepherd; Rinus, a young forester, and Rombus, who came in as a moderator.

“ This being said, it pleased Her Majesty to judge that Espilus did the better deserve her; but what words, what reasons she used for it, this paper, which carrieth so base names, is not worthy to contain.”

Espilus sang a song, “ tending to the greatness of his own joy, and yet to the comfort of the other side;” and “ the music being fully ended, the May Lady took her leave in this sort :

“ Lady, yourself, for other titles do rather diminish than add unto you, I and my little company must now leave you. I should do wrong to beseech you to take our follies well, since your bounty is such as to pardon greater faults. Therefore I will wish you good night, praying to God, according to the title I possess, that as hitherto it hath excellently done, so henceforward the flourishing May may long remain in you and with you.”

ANCIENT PARISH ACCOUNTS FOUND AT BLYTH-
BURGH, SUFFOLK.

IN the road between Oxford and Beccles, in the county of Suffolk, is the village of Blythburgh, where formerly was a small college of Black Canons, called *Præmonstratensis*; some fragments of the wall only remain, but the church is entire, large, and handsome. Some time ago the windows were full of painted glass; but a few years

since a tempestuous wind drove in several of the windows, and totally destroyed the curious remains of antiquity which were in them. Parts of some of the windows still possess some fragments of those ornaments.

This was a cell to St. Osyth, or Chiche, in Essex; was founded by Henry I.; endowed by Richard Beauveyes, Bishop of London; and received a confirmation from King Richard I. Soon after the dissolution it was granted to Sir Arthur Hopton. It now belongs to the family of Blois. It seems no provision was made for a clergyman; and he receives so scanty an allowance, that, in a parish containing 363 persons, according to the return in 1801; 438, by the return in 1811, divine service is performed but once a fortnight, by a curate who resides at a distance of six miles.

On a visit lately to this church, a large chest, strongly bound with iron, was observed; the sexton opened the lid, when it appeared to be half full of waste papers, of registers, christenings, burials, &c. in the time of Queen Elizabeth; amongst which was the following parish account. 35 Henry VIII.

“ Received of the plowghe chirch ale, xxvs.

Received and gathered by Lawrance Crane, on Xmas, for sexton's was, vijs.

Received of Thomas Martyn, of two kyen for his year, iijs.

Received for mens chirch ale, xxxs.

Received and gathered upon Easter day of the Paschal, vijs.

Received of Thomas Smith, of the fearme of one cow this year, viijs.

Paid for washing the church linen, *ivs.*
 for two new banyore stavis, *xijd.*
 for one other banyar staffe, *viijd.*
 for rent for the church-house standing in the church-yard be-
 ing unpaid six years, *vid.*
 the rent for one half of a close for six years, *vid.*
 an orgae maker for his coming and seying, and little mending,
 of the quere organ, *xxd.*
 candles, Xmas day in the morning, *ijd.*
 the sexton, for his wages for the whole year, *xxs.*
 for wax for the Paschal, *xviijd.*
 for making the Paschal and the Towell . . ."

ANECDOTES OF THE NOBILITY OF ENGLAND.

ROUSSEAU, in his celebrated romance, puts the following beautiful eulogy of our nobility into the mouth of an English Lord, (one of his excellent characters,) whom he represents as vindicating us from the unjust reflections of a German Baron:—
 'I should be greatly mortified to have no other proof of my merit than that of a man who died 500 years ago.'

The nobility of England is the most enlightened, as well as the bravest in Europe. It is unnecessary, therefore, to enquire which is the most ancient, for when we speak of what it is, it is of no consequence what it was. We are not, indeed, the slaves, but the friends of our sovereign: not the tyrants of the people, but their superior guardians of liberty, protectors of our country, and supporters of the throne: we form an invincible equilibrium between the people and the King. Our first duty

is to the nation, our second is to the supreme judges, in the last resort, in the house of peers, and sometimes even legislators ; we do equal justice to the people and to the King ; and we permit no man to say,

‘ God and my Sword,’ but only ‘ God and my Right.’

Such is our respectable nobility, as ancient as any other, but prouder of its intrinsic worth than of its ancestors *.

To this glorious character there are, no doubt, individual objections. Care, however, seems to have been once taken, to preserve this illustrious body from that dependence and corruption which poverty might produce. In 1478, George Nevile, Duke of Bedford, was deprived of his titles, by authority of parliament. For what? for high treason? No. For high crimes and misdemeanors? No; but for that guilt, (if it may be called such,) in which many a noble peer has been since involved—for poverty! Blackstone’s observations on this singular event, deserves attention: “ A peer cannot lose his nobility but by death or attainder; though there was an instance in the reign of Edward IV., of the degradation of George Nevile, Duke of Bedford, on account of his poverty, which rendered him unable to support his dignity. But this is a singular instance, which serves at the same time, by having happened but once, to show the

* Eloisa, part ii. let. 62.

power of parliament, and, by having happened but once, to show how tender the parliament hath been of exerting so high a power*.

Whatever rank an individual nobleman may bear in the sense of moral excellence, it is universally supposed that the first enobled ancestor acquired his honours by superior distinctions in virtue and true heroism. But this has not been uniformly the case. Philip, the fourth Earl of Pembroke, whom Mr. Horace Walpole called 'that memorable simpleton,' was rude, reprobate, boisterous, and devoted to his horses and dogs. He was so mean, at the same time, as to receive tamely a horse-whipping, from one Ramsay, a Scotchman, at a public horse-race; and for his civility in not resenting the insult, was rewarded by the peaceful James, by being made a Knight, Baron, Viscount, and Earl †, on the same day. His mother,

* Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother,

tore her hair when she heard of her son's disgrace. He was likewise Lord Chamberlain to Charles I.; and as Osborne observes, while in that office, broke with his white rod many wiser heads than his own; but his fear always secured him by a quick and ample submission.

* Comment. book i. chap. 12.

† His brother William, third Earl of Pembroke, being then living, he was created, for his meritorious submission, Earl of Montgomery.

ORIGIN AND EFFECTS OF CHIVALRY.

(*From Robertson's History of the Reign of Charles V.*)

WHEN improvements with respect to the state of society, and the administration of justice, gradually made progress in Europe, sentiments more liberal and generous had begun to animate the nobles. These were inspired with the spirit of chivalry, which, though considered commonly, as a wild institution, the effect of caprice, and the source of extravagance, arose naturally from the state of society at that period, and had a very serious influence in refining the manners of the European nations. The feudal state was a state of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy; during which, the weak and unarmed were exposed every moment to insults or injuries. The power of the sovereign was too limited to prevent these wrongs; and the administration of justice too feeble to redress them. There was scarce any protection against violence and oppression, but what the valour and generosity of private persons afforded. The same spirit of enterprise which had prompted so many gentlemen to take arms in defence of the oppressed pilgrims in Palestine, incited others to declare themselves the patrons and avengers of injured innocence at home. When the final reduction of the Holy Land, under the dominion of infidels, put an end to those foreign expeditions, the latter was the only employment left for the ac-

tivity and courage of adventurers. To check the insolence of overgrown oppressors ; to succour the distressed ; to rescue the helpless from captivity ; to protect or to avenge women, orphans, and ecclesiastics, who could not bear arms in their own defence ; to redress wrongs, and to remove grievances ; were deemed acts of the highest prowess and merit. Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, honour, were the characteristic qualities of chivalry. To these were added religion, which mingled itself with every passion and institution during the middle ages ; and, by infusing a large proportion of enthusiastic zeal, gave them such force as carried them to romantic excess. Men were trained to knighthood by a long previous discipline ; they were admitted into the order by solemnities no less devout than pompous ; every person of noble birth courted that honour ; it was deemed a distinction superior to royalty ; and monarchs were proud to receive it from the hands of private gentlemen.

This singular institution, in which valour, gallantry, and religion, were so strangely blended, was wonderfully adapted to the taste and genius of martial nobles ; and its effects were soon visible in their manners. War was carried on with less ferocity when humanity came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood, no less than courage : more gentle and polished manners were introduced, when courtesy was recommended as the most ami-

able of knightly virtues. Violence and oppression decreased, when it was reckoned meritorious to check and punish them. A scrupulous adherence to truth, with the most religious attention to fulfil every engagement, became the distinguishing characteristic of a gentleman, because chivalry was regarded as the school of honour, and inculcated the most delicate sensibility with respect to that point. The admiration of these qualities, together with the high distinctions and prerogatives conferred on knighthood in every part of Europe, inspired persons of noble birth, on some occasions, with a species of military fanaticism, and led them to extravagant enterprises. But they imprinted deeply in their minds the principles of generosity and honour. These were strengthened by every thing that can affect the senses, or touch the heart. The wild exploits of those romantic knights, who sallied forth in quest of adventures, are well known, and have been treated with proper ridicule. The political and permanent effects of the spirit of chivalry have been less observed. Perhaps the humanity which accompanies all the operations of war, the refinements of gallantry, and the point of honour (the three chief circumstances which distinguish ancient from modern manners), may be ascribed in a great measure to this whimsical institution, seemingly of little benefit to mankind. The sentiments which chivalry inspired had a wonderful influence on manners and conduct during

the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries. They were so deeply rooted, that they continued to operate, after the vigour and reputation of the institution itself began to decline. Some of the most eminent personages were strongly tinctured with this romantic spirit : Francis I. was ambitious to distinguish himself by all the qualities of an accomplished knight, and endeavoured to imitate the enterprising genius of chivalry in war, as well as its pomp and courtesy during peace. The fame which he acquired by these splendid actions, so far dazzled his more temperate rival, Charles V., that he departed, on some occasions, from his useful prudence and moderation, and emulated Francis in deeds of prowess or of gallantry.

TOUCHING FOR THE KING'S EVIL.

THE following curious memoranda are copied from the register of the parish of Stanton, St. John, near Oxford.

‘ An account of certificates given of persons having not before been touched for the king’s evil.

‘ Feb. 25, 1683-4. A certificate given concerning Thomas Grant, son of Tho. and Amy Grant.’

‘ 1686, Sept. 5. I gave a certificate for Mr. Mason’s daughters, Alice and Assie, who were touched by the king, Sept. 19th, as Mr. Mason told me.’

'1705, Mar. 25. I gave a certificate concerning Ralph Gilbert's son, Ralph, not being formerly touched by for y^e king's evil.

The following is extracted from the 'Mercurius Aulicus,' of Sunday, March 26, 1643.

'His majesty caused an order (which had been signed and printed the day before), to be posted on the court gates, and all the posts and passages into the citie of, prohibiting all such as were troubled with the disease called the king's evil, to repair to the court for the cure thereof, at the feast of Easter now approaching, or at any other time hereafter till the Michaelmas next.'

With respect to this miraculous power of healing, which has been claimed by all our sovereigns from Edward the Confessor to Queen Anne, the following account is given by Daines Barrington, in his 'Observations on the more ancient Statutes,' of what he heard from an old man, a witness in a cause which was tried before him.

'He had, by his evidence, fixed the time of a fact, by Queen Anne's being at Oxford, and touched him, whilst a child, for the evil. When he had finished his evidence, I had an opportunity of asking him, whether he really was cured? Upon which he observed, with a significant smile, that he believed himself never to have had a complaint that deserved to be considered as the evil; and that his parents were poor, *and had no objection to the bit of gold.*

It seems to me, that this piece of gold, which was given to those who were touched, accounts for the great resort on this occasion, and the supposed afterwards miraculous cures. Many curious particulars relating to this custom may be found in Nicholl's 'Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century,' vol. ii. p. 495—505.

The now exploded royal gift is thus described by Shakspeare :—

————— ' Strangely visited people,
All swollen and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery, he cries ;
Hanging a golden stamp about their neck,
Put on with holy prayers.'

MACBETH.

Origin of Touching for the King's Evil.

The origin of touching for the evil is accounted by Stowe, in his 'Annals,' in the following manner. 'A young woman was afflicted with this disorder in a very alarming manner, and to a most disgusting degree, feeling uneasiness and pain consequent upon it in her sleep, dreamt that she should be cured by the simple operation of having the part washed by the king's hand. Application was consequently made to Edward, by her friend, who very humanely consented to perform the unpleasant request. A bason of water was brought, with which he carefully softened the tumours, till they broke, and the contents discharged : the sign of the cross wound up the charm ; and the female retired, with the assurance of his protection during the remain-

der of the cure, which was effected within a week.'

The following proclamation, issued in the reign of Charles I., April 22, 1634, may perhaps afford some gratification to the curious on these subjects :—

' By the king.—A proclamation, appointing the time when his majesty's subjects may approach to the court for the cure of the disease called the king's evill ;

' Whereas, by the grace and blessing of God Almighty, the kings and queens of this realm, by many ages past, have had the happinesse, by their sacred touch, to cure those who are afflicted with the disease called the king's evill ; and his now most excellent majestie, in no less measure than any of his royall progenitors, hath had blessed success therein ; and, in his most gracious and pious disposition, is as ready and willing as any king or queene of this realme ever was in any thing to relieve the distresses and necessities of his good subjects ; yet in his princely wisdome, foreseeing that in this (as in all things) order is to be observed, and fit times are necessary to be appointed for performing this great work of charity ; and taking into his royall consideration the great inconveniences which may happen, both in respect of the temper of the season, and in respect of contagion, which might happen in this neere accesse to his majesty's sacred person, when the season of the year is grown warm ; doth hereby publish and declare his

royall pleasure to be, and also will and command, that from the time of publishing this proclamation, no person or persons whatsoever, do attempt to presume to repair to his majesty's court, to be healed of that disease, before the feast of All Souls, now next coming : and to the end that all his majesty's loving subjects may the better take notice of this his royall pleasure and command, his pleasure is, that this proclamation be published and affixed in some fit and open place in every market town in this realme.'

After the restoration, great multitudes flocked to receive the royall touche, inasmuch that six or seven persons were crushed to death, pressing at the chirurgion's door for tickets.—*Evelyn's Journal*.

In 1682 the king touched 8577 persons ; and Browne remarks, that notwithstanding the number had been so great as to amount to a considerable portion of the whole nation, yet, upon any new declaration of healing, they were again as fast as if none had applied before ; ' a thing as monstrous as strange ! ' Notwithstanding this, it began to decline. Oliver Cromwell tried in vain to exercise his royal prerogative ; and, in 1684, Thomas Mousewell was tried for high treason, because he spoke with contempt of King Charles's pretensions to the cure of scrofula.

Charles Bernard had made this touching the subject of raillery all his lifetime, till he became sergeant-surgeon, when it turned out so good a

perquisite, that he solved all difficulties, by saying with a sneer, 'Really one could not have thought it if one had not seen it.'

THE EARLEDOME OF CHESTER.

(*From Doddridge's English Lawyer.*)

THE earledome of Chester is the third reuenuue before spoken of: this earledome, bordering vpon North Wales, for the better defence of that country, and that the inhabitants should not be thence withdrawne in sutes of law, was made palatyne, and conferred by the Conquerour vpon his kinsman, Hugh, sirnamed Loupe, or Lupus, sonne to the Earle of Awrenches in Normandy, to whom hee gaue this earldom, *To haue and to hold, to him and his heires*, as the words of the first donation import, *Ita libere ad gladium sicut ipse Rex tenebat Anglium et Coronam*. This earledome, for the more honour thereof, and for the better accomplishment of the palatyne iurisdiction therin, hath certain substitute baronyes vnder it, who doe acknowledge the earle palatyné to be their superiour lord: as, 1. The Baron of Halton. 2. The Baron of Mountalt. 3. The Baron of Malbanck. 4. The Baron of Shi-brooke. 5. The Baron of Malpas. 6. The Baron of Mascey. 7. The Baron of Kinderton. 8. The Baron of Stockport.

This earledome, from the said Hugh Lupus, descended in his bloud and kindred by sundry descents

vnto Iohn, sirname Scot, Earle of Chester, Anguise, Galway, and Huntingdon ; who in the time of King Henry the Third, dying without issue, the said King Henry the Third seized the same into his hands, giuing the aunts and next coheiréss of the said Iohn, other lands, by exchange ; which thing the said king was induced to doe, as the record saith, *ne tanta hereditas inter colos diduceretur*, not willing that so great a patrimony should bee parted amongst distaffs.

Afterward King Edward the First was by his father, the said King Henry the Third, created Earle of Chester. But the said earledome being afterwards conferred vpon Simon de Monford, by his attainder it came to the crown. After that Edward the Third, in the life-time of his father, and before he tooke vpon him the kingdome, had the said earledom, but afterwards hee being king, gaue the same to his eldest sonne, Edward, surnamed the Black Prince, by his charter bearing date at Pomfret, the 18th day of March, in the 7th yeere of his reigne, and inrolled of record in the exchequer, *anno* 33, of the same king.

By which charter the said king did grant vnto the said earle of Chester, the castles of Chester, Beston, Rothlan, and Flint, and all his lands there. And also the cantred and lands of Englefield, together with the knights' fees, aduousons, liberties, franchises, forests, chaces, parks, woods, warrens, and other the appurtenances thereunto belonging,

to haue and to hold to him and to his heires kings of England.

And the same king, by another charter, bearing date the 19th of March, in the 7th yeere of his reigne, granted vnto the said Earle of Chester all his goods, chattels, stock of cattell then being in or vpon the said lands of the said earledome formerly granted.

Moreouer, all the kings of England succeeding, when they created their sonnes and heirs apparent Princes of Wales, did also create them Earles of Chester, to haue and to hold the same vnto him so created, and his heires Kings of England, in such manner as the principality of Wales was giuen vnto him. And did by their seuerall charters giue vnto the said earle the said earledome, and lands, as namely, the said castles of Chester, Beston, Rothlan, and Flint, and the castle also of Hope, and the mannors of Hope and Hopedall, and of Foresham, and the said cantred and lands of Englefield, and other their lands in the said counties of Chester, Flint, and elsewhere, belonging vnto the said earledome. And the aduouson of the cathedral church of St. Asaph in Wales, and the auoydance, issues, and profits of the temporalities of the bishopricks of Chester, and St. Asaph aforesaid, together with all aduousons, pentions, portions, corrodiess, offices, prizes, customes, liberties, franchises, lordships, comots, hundreds, escheats, forfeitures, and hereditaments vnto the said earledome belonging.

THE TITLE OF ESQUIRE.

WHEN we come to consider what this title was originally, and what it legally is, we shall soon be convinced, that the indiscriminate use of it is totally without foundation upon any known law, or source of honour. In this part of our subject, we are principally, though not altogether, assisted by the learned author of ‘Commentaries on the Laws of England.’

Esquires are said, by Camden, to consist of four classes: 1. The eldest sons of knights, and their eldest sons, in like perpetual succession. 2. The eldest sons of younger sons of peers, and their eldest sons, in like perpetual succession: both which species of esquires Sir Henry Spelman entitles, *armiger natalitis*. 3. Esquires created by the king’s letters patent, or other investiture, and their eldest sons. 4. Esquires by virtue of their offices; as justices of the peace, and others who may bear any office of trust under the crown. To these may be added, the esquires of the knights of the Bath, each of whom constitutes three at his installation; and all foreign and even Irish peers of Great Britain, though frequently titular lords, are only esquires by law, and must be so named in all legal proceedings. It may be observed, however, that the first two distinctions, or classes, enumerated by Camden, have long ceased to exist: for the title of knight gives not the title of esquire to the eldest

son, who perhaps may be a common, and often a low mechanic, and must, according to the statute 1 Hen. V. c. 6, be designated by his mystery or of trade in all writs, &c.

Esquires and gentlemen are confounded together by Sir Edward Coke, who observes, that every esquire is a gentleman; and a gentleman is defined to be one *qui arma gerit*, who bears coat armour; the grant of which adds gentility to a man's family. 'It is indeed,' says Blackstone, 'a matter somewhat unsettled, what constitutes the distinction, or who is a real esquire; for it is not an estate, however large, that confers the rank upon its owner. But to the lists given above, the following may be added: mayors of towns, counsellors at law, sergeants of the several offices of the king's court, and other officers of note. These are all entitled to be called esquires, and none others.'

The title of esquire, therefore, like all other titles, proceeds directly, or indirectly, from the king, as the fountain of all honours, and it can be conferred by no other person, nor assumed by any person from vanity or caprice. But if this be the law, how strangely different is the practice of modern times. Tradesmen and mechanics, of all descriptions, confer this title upon each other; and many do not even scruple to write esquire to their names in books of subscription. But no individual in this kingdom (his majesty only excepted), can confer any title; and if foolish and equally well-founded custom, may in time induce

them to prefix the title honourable to their names ; if caprice is to govern in one thing, it may in all ; for caprice is boundless, and human vanity will always furnish it with an apology.

But mechanics and tradesmen are not the only persons who assume the title esquire without the right to it ; the higher orders of commercial men, such as merchants and bankers, assume it with no better title ; nor can the landed interest prove that they have a superior claim ; for as Blackstone observes, an estate, however large, does not confer this rank upon its owner. But, in flat contradiction to those of honour, how many thousand esquires does this nation contain ! Besides persons concerned in trade, it is assumed by every man who has no visible means of living, and who therefore calls himself a gentleman, and is by others denominated an esquire. Even debtors in jail are frequently addressed by this title ; and I recollect to have seen in a newspaper, under the head of Old Bailey intelligence, the ' trial of George Barrington, Esq., the most infamous pickpocket and thief that ever disgraced a good understanding.' Is not this enough to sicken us against squireship ?

A CHRONICLER'S ACCOUNT OF ENGLAND'S FIRST INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF SPAIN.

IN the 40th year of Edward III. that noble prince his son, (Edward Le Noir) was applied to by Don Pedro, (surnamed the Cruel,) King of Castile, who

implored his protection, being drove out of his dominions by Don Henry, his bastard brother, whom the Pope had made legitimate, and excommunicated Don Pedro.

Though many of the counsellors of the English prince endeavoured to dissuade him from abetting the quarrel of this tyrannical and unhappy king, by laying before him not only the tranquillity of his present condition, but the many cruelties that Don Pedro had committed, whereby he had rendered himself infamous and odious to his own subjects, and was deservedly thrust out of his kingdom as an example of divine vengeance, to warn all Christian princes from pursuing the same tyrannical methods ; yet the prince, out of a deep resentment that a bastard should usurp a crown from the lawful heir, and thereby the fundamental law of succession be broken, which he looked upon as an evil example to the dignity of kings, with more generosity than justice, the prince determined to re-instate the exiled monarch on the throne, and Don Pedro publicly pledged himself, in case of success, to “ make ample amends to the prince and his followers in all things.” The Prince of Wales was now in the flower of his manhood, being in the 36th year of his age, of full strength of body, of undaunted courage and resolution, tempered with experience and discretion, yet he engaged in the hazardous enterprise of attempting to drive out the bastard king, who was master of the hearts

of all the nobles, prelates, and the whole body of the people of the realm, who had concurred in thrusting Pedro out of the kingdom, where he was generally hated or despised.

While the Prince was busied at Bourdeaux in his preparations for the Spanish war, and waiting the expected arrival of his brother the Duke of Lancaster, the princess, his consort, was delivered of a son, on the day of the Three Kings of *Colen*, commonly called the *Epiphany*, being Wednesday, the 6th of Jan. 1367, about the hour of ten o'clock in the morning. On the Friday after, at noon, he was christened at Bourdeaux, in the church of St. Andrew, in that city. He was called, after the manner of that age, Richard of Bourdeaux, from the place of his birth, and, after the death of his father and grand-father, became King of England, the second of that name.

Froissart relates, that on the day of this prince's birth, as he sat at dinner in Bourdeaux, *Sir Richard Pontchardon*, a valiant knight of England, skilled in astrological science, came to him within two hours after he was born, and said, "Froissart, write down, and put in memory, that this morning my lady the princess is brought to-bed of a son, on this 12th day, which is the day of the three kings, and though he is but second son of a king, yet shall he be king;" which fell out to be true, for Edward, his elder brother, dying at the age of seven years,

he succeeded his grandfather king Edward, and wore the crown about twenty-two years.

On the Sunday following the 10th of January, the Prince of Wales left the city of Bourdeaux, and departed for Spain, and being joined by his brother the Duke of Lancaster, they arrived on the frontiers of Spain the latter end of March. At day-break, (Saturday, the 3d of April,) they advanced to attack Don Henry, whose army lay encamped before the city of Najara, (Vittoria.) Three thousand of the Spanish spearmen gave way at the first shock. King Henry had with him above 60,000 men, horse and foot; the fight was fiercely and doubtfully maintained till noon, when the Prince gained a complete victory.

Don Pedro would have had all the Spanish prisoners put to death; however, all but William Garibz were spared at the Prince's desire.

This exploit terrified the Spaniards, who returned to their allegiance, and accepted Don Pedro as their lawful king; it was nevertheless attended with the most fatal consequences, for during his stay, in expectation of the performance of Don Pedro's promises, the Prince fell sick of an incurable disease, which about ten years after put a period to his life; though not before he had beheld the loss of almost the whole principality of Aquitain, which was occasioned by this expedition and his want of health.

The Prince, his lords, and their followers, being quartered in Valladolid, Don Pedro set out for Seville, under pretence of raising money to re-pay the Prince the expence he had incurred by this expedition; the news of whose success had occasioned great triumph to be made in England, particularly in the king's chamber and the city of London, where the lord mayor and aldermen erected triumphal arches.

In France unfeigned sorrow sat on every brow, for the loss of so many of their bravest countrymen, who had been induced to join the English prince in this expedition: for the loss of so many of their bravest countryman in the battle proved a corrosive in the minds of those who wished well to the honour and interests of France.

The prince, after waiting till the beginning of July, found Don Pedro as unjust and dishonourable as, by report, he had been cruel. The followers of the Prince had already found themselves hardly able to endure the infectious air of Spain, and from his own ill state of health, it was impracticable to compel Don Pedro to be just. The king of Majorica, and many hundreds of the Prince's men, being ill, they set out on their return to France, where he was received in triumph, and met by his beautiful Princess, and by his eldest son Edward, then about three years of age. Pedro was again dethroned, and slain by the bastard Henry, who again became King of Castile. The Prince, to defray

the debt incurred by the Spanish expedition, raised a foriage, or tax on chimnies, throughout all his principality of Aquitain, which occasioned strong remonstrances, general discontent, and at length a general insurrection. Every fire was to pay a frank, and the rich to have answered for the poor: this occasioned much jangling in the beginning of 1369. In the 44th of Edward III., viz. 1371, all the Barons of Gascoigne and Poictou fell from their allegiance to the English interest. —Such were the effects of espousing the cause of Don Pedro, and meddling in the concerns of another people in the 14th century.

A CURIOUS BILL.

(Copied from an original record in the Borough of Thetford.)

THE following curious bill was entered in the record, when John Le Forrester was mayor in the tenth year of Edward III. A. D. 1336. It exhibits an authentic account of the value of many articles at that time; being a bill, inserted in the town-book, of the expences attending the sending of two light-horsemen from Thetford to the army which was to march against the Scots that year:—

To two men chosen to go into the army against Scotland	1	0	0
For cloth, and to the Taylor for making it into gowns ..	0	6	11
For two pair of gloves and a stick or staff	0	0	2
For two horses	1	15	0
For shoeing these horses	0	0	4½

EXTS. FROM SHRAWARDINE PARISH REGISTER. 193

For two pair of boots for the light horsemen	0	2	.
Paid to a lad for going with the mayor (to Lenn,) to take care of the horses *	0	0	3
Expences for the horses of two light-horsemen for four days before they departed	0	1	0

EXTRACTS from SHRAWARDINE *Parish Register*, in
the County of Salop.

“ IN the time of our late unnatural civil and unhappy wars that were between the King and Parliament, Shrawardine castle was made a garrison for the King, September 28, 1644. Sir William Vaughan, Colonel, was made the governor of it. This castle was the head-quarters of all his forces. While this garrison continued, the church and chancel were pulled down; the out-buildings of the castle, the parsonage-house, with all edifices thereunto belonging, and y^e greatest, fairest, and best part of the town, were burnt for the safety (as it was pretended,) of the said garrison. In this firing, the register-book, among many books of the minister's, was burned. Now here followeth a register of all such weddings, christenings, and burials, as have been since that time, only by the way, some things are to be noted and remembered. * * * * *

“ Shrawardine chancel was thrown down on St. Matthias Day, Feb. 24, 1644. The church was pulled down on Whitsunday Eve, June 8, 1645. The town was burnt on Midsummer Eve and Midsummer Day, 1645. The garrison was cow-

* The distance between Thetford and Lynn is about 33 miles.

ardly surrendered up to the Parliament forces after five dayes seige. And, within less than a fortnight after, all the timber-work of y^e castle, and much goods that were in it, were all consumed with fire, upon a sudden report that Sir William Vaughan was coming to surprise it. Afterwards the stonework was pulled down and carried to Shrewsbury, for the repairing of the castle there, and the making-up of Rousal Wall, standing on y^e Severn side. The church was rebuilt by a voluntary collection thro' the county in the year 1649. All y^e mean while the parish assembled for the public worship of God in the Castle stable. Richard Typton y^e elder was a diligent, careful churchwarden, while the church was builded.

“One Mr. Edgerlye is said to have been parson here for above y^e space of 40 years.

“After him succeeded Mr. Corbet, rector of Westenstow, and also parson of this parish. He is reported to have lived to a very great age. He enjoyed this place for above 50 years.

“Richard Harrison, a Cumberland man, Master of Arts, and Fellow of Queen's College, in Oxford, was chosen parson of this parish by Sir Henry Bromley. He enjoyed this place 46 years, and then dyed, being aged 86. He was buried September 15, 1638.

“Francis Browne, born in Newport, Master of Arts, of Lincoln College, in Oxford, was vicar of Monford seven years, and after y^e death of Mr. Harrison, (by the free donation of Henry Bromley, Esq. lord of this manour, and patron of the rec-

tory,) was removed from Monford to be parson of this parish. He was inducted into this rectory by Mr. Clark, parson of Fitz, vicar of Alderbury, and rural dean of Pontesbury, Nov. 26, 1638. The Sunday following he read openly in the church the Book of Articles. On July y^e 25, y^e year foregoing, he was marryed to Priscilla Morris, the daughter of Royland Morris, yeoman, and bayliffe of this lordship.

“ Note. This year, 1658, we had neither church-warden nor constable, Rowland Owen, a soldier in y^e county troop, being chosed to both offices, but refusing to serve, as a privileged person, he was fined in fifty shillings for his obstinacy. Thomas James, gent. was constable for part of y^e year, and John Clark remained in his office of church-warden, but did nothing, being removed out of the parish to Calcott, in the township of Bicton. And this year was a tyme of great sickness and diseases in these parts, and generally all the land over, for y^e ceasing of which we had a day of humiliation, and after that, thro’ y^e mercy of God, y^e sickness abated in all places.

“ May 29, 1660. His gracious Majesty o^r dread Sovereign King Charles the Second came to London, attended with y^e greatest part of y^e nobility and gentry of y^e land, where, with all demonstrations of joy, he was welcomed and received. Never was more cordial joy, love, and honor, shewed to any King, than to this exiled Prince, at his reception into y^e Kingdom, in all places.”

ANTIQUITIES OF HENGRAVE, IN SUFFOLK.

(By John Gage, Esq. F. A. S.)

HENGRAVE-HALL, near Bury St. Edmund's, is a rare remaining example of the domestic architecture of the beginning of the sixteenth century; being an embattled manor-house built by Sir John Kytson, a very wealthy merchant of London, between the years 1525 and 1538. This Sir Thomas was sheriff of London in 1533, and had in 1522, purchased Hengrave, (styled Hemegretha in Domesday-book,) from the Duke of Buckingham, whose attainder and execution involved the property in considerable risk; but after some law proceedings, the King relinquished his gripe of the forfeiture, and the opulent citizen was suffered to enjoy his estate. Upon this he erected the hall, which cost, as appears from the documents preserved, about 3000*l*.

The author of this splendid work commences his task by giving a general and detailed history of the parish of Hengrave, and those of the adjacent vicinity. He notices that the grounds belonging to the hall were laid out by Sir Thomas Kytson in the true Dutch style, the vogue of that era; we are also informed, that a Dutch gardener was brought thither to superintend this business, and above all, to contrive the water-works, then so essential to the horticultural picturesque! The mansion itself was large and imposing; and the gate-house, es,

pecially, remains a splendid example of the architectural magnificence which marked the epoch of the Tudors.

Inventories of the furniture have been fortunately handed down, by means of which we are enabled to picture the exact appearance of every room, as used in a gentleman's residence, three centuries ago. Among these the "armorye" is the most unlike any room of the present time, though the "musicke chamber," the "dyning roome," the chief chamber, and others, exhibit remarkable varieties, when contrasted with modern fashions: the following we transcribe as a singular piece of curiosity.

*"In ye Chamber where y^e Musicyons * playe.*

"Itm, hangings of blewe and yellow saye complete. Itm, one long bord with ij tressels. Itm, one long joyned forme and one playne forme.

"Instrewments and Books of Musicke.

"Itm, one barded chest, with locke and key, wth vj vials. Itm, one barded chest, with six violenns. Itm, one case of recorders †, in nombre vij.

* In noticing the Musicians' Chamber it may be observed, that Robert Johnson, Bachelor in Music, was, at one period, of Sir Thomas Kytson's household; perhaps this is the same Robert Johnson, a contemporary composer, who is said by Dr. Wilson, in his *Court Ayres, or Ballads*, published at Oxford in 1660, to have set to music "Full fathom five," and "Where the bee sucks."

† Recorder, a wind-instrument resembling a flute, but of a smaller bore and shriller tone.

Itm, iij cornutes, one being a mute cornute. Itm, one great base lewte, and a meane lewte, both wthout cases. Itm, one trebble lute, and a meane lute with cases. Itm, one bandore *, and a si-therne †, with a dooble case. Itm, two sackboots, wth ther cases. Itm, three hoeboys, with a curtall ‡ and a lysarden §. Itm, two flewtes wthout cases. Itm, one payer of little virginalls. Itm, one wind instrument like a virginall. Itm, two lewting books covered with lether. Itm, vj bookes covered with pchement. cont^s vj setts in a book, with songs of iijj, v, vj, vij, and viij partes. Itm, v books covered wth pchement. cont^s iij setts in a book, with songs of v ptes. Itm, vj books covered wth pchment. cont^s ij setts in a book, with English songs of iijj, v, and vj, partes. Itm, v books, covered with pchment, wth pavines ||, gal-

* Bandore, an instrument with strings like a lute. It is said to have been invented in the fourth year of Queen Ellizabeth, by John Rose, a citizen of London. Or probably rather adapted from the Italian Pandura.

† Cittern, the old English name of the guitar.

‡ Curtall, or courtant, an instrument similar to the bassoon, but much shorter, and therefore called by this name from the French word *courte*, short. The courtaut had two rows of projecting apertures, called tampions or tetines. These tetines were not moveable, but fixtures, disposed on different sides of the instrument for the accommodation of left-handed as well as right-handed performers; and when the tetines on one side were used, those on the other side were stopped.—*Busby*.

§ Lysarden, a serpent or bass cornet.

|| Pavine, the air of an old French dance, so named from the

liards*, measures, and cuntry dances. Itm, v books of levaultoes† and corrantoes. Itm, v old bookes, covered pchment, wth songes of v partes. Itm, v bookes covered with blacke lether. Itm, iiij bookes covered with pchment, wth songes of iiij partes. Itm, v books covered pchment, wth pavines and galliards for the consort. Itm, one great booke w^h came from Cadis, covered wth redd lether, and gylt. Itm, v books cont^s one sett of Italian fa-laes. Itm, one great payer of dooble virginalls. Itm, one payer of great orgaynes.”

The “Dyning Chamber,” besides “tapestrye” hangings for the walls and chimneys, and carpets for the “bordes,” contained two great chairs (probably for the master and mistress,) a little chair and a little stool, also covered with damask, four long cushions, nine stools covered with carpet, a pair of virginalls with irons, a wicker screen, and a chessboard, with the men in a leather bag. In the “Cheife Chamber,” the most remarkable articles are, carpets for the windows, and to lay about the bed, a perfumed “twilt,” one great looking-glass, and pillow beres, chairs, &c. richly embroidered in silk and gold.

The account of charges for the hall building, fur

Latin word *pavo*, a peacock; because the *figurantes* formed, looking round at each other, a *tail* or *train*. The men for this purpose made use of their caps and swords.—*Busby*. Busby is wrong, it is a Spanish, not a French dance.

* Galliard, the name of a lively air or dance in triple time.

† The Sautouse, or waltz, which is very ancient.

nishes items of similar curiosity, but the particulars are not so distinctly stated.

Hengrave church was joined to Flempton adjacent, and has since been used only as a burial-place for the family. Among the monuments, that of Thomas Darcy, only son of the lord of Chich, who intermarried with the Kytsons.

At the base of the monument is an inscription on two tablets of black marble, and under those upon a medallion, a skeleton in a winding-sheet. The inscription is as follows :—

MEMORIAE SACRUM.

*Of Thomas Darcy here the body ly,
Onely heire masle of Chiche's Barony,
By Mary heire of Kitson's family,
The true bred hope of all his progeny ;
Trayn'd up in youth so well by Virtues lore,
That he the second prize at BARRI'RS * bore,
By High Prince Henrye's brave election,
Pickt out by Virtue's owne directione,
And thereto led by Honor as his page,
As then but two-and-twenty years of age.
With D'enshire Fitze's heire he wedded was,
But she from earth him issuelless let pass,
To heaven, to make a better marriage,
I'th twenty sixt yeare of his youthful age.
His fame in spight of death shall never dy,
But live in honor to eternity.
Ex sumptib. Domina Elizabethæ Kytson
ævia ejus.*

The following valuable letters are preserved in

* Justs.

the family of Sir Thomas Kytson's daughters. One of them, Anne, married Sir William Spring, of Pakenham, high sheriff of the county in 1578. This lady, it seems, had a serious quarrel with Lady Jermyn, and the following letters are added as specimens of the style of angry contest used by women of quality at that period.

Lady Jermyn to Mrs. Anne Spring.

' Theis be to signifie unto you that I receyved your lre. unto me dyrected the vth of this present month of August, wherein I pceive. y^e burdeyn me wyth promise to obtagne such suit as ye had for yo^r agayne unto my cossyn Spryng your husband, which I fordred all that in me dyd lie for your contentacion and harty desire; and at that tyme in possyibilitie to obtain yo. sayde sute, and the same to have at that time fully finished an endyd if my Lady yo. mother, and you both, had not only gone about to abuse yo. said husband, but also to deprave my husband, in his doing, as in dysdaining and misnaming of him, calling hym toade, and other evill names, which I ensuer you cannot be well taking on my behalfe. There is no body could have opined my said husband's usage better than you during yo^r time in my house, if you so had listed, for ye right well know he never made so much of any of his own daughters as he dyd of you, and yours, and thus he to be rewarded for his gentyllness, byndeth me to forder yo. suyte accordingly. That notwithstanding, althowghe he suffreth, and sayth nothing thearunto as yett, wyl when he hath tyme answer yt as he thynketh good. I assure you I think scorne that my husband and I should so be so laughed and scorned at, for o^r good wylle towards you, and so to be abused for yo^r sake. We are but pore folks, yett we have so much wrong offered so to be deryded; but though we be bitten, we be not eaten, nor yett altogeter trodden under the foot. Wherefor trouble yo^r self no more in wrytinge unto me of yo^r. doings, for you shall be well assured I will never speak, nor do in yo^r. behalf; yf I may speak or do, to the contrary. Therefore, do as ye lyst, ye know

to what end ye shall grow for me, whereunto ye may trust. Wrytten at my house at Roshbroke, this vij day of August, An^o Dni. 1558.

‘ ANNE JERMYN.

‘ *To Mysterys Anne Spring, be these delivered in spede.*’

‘ *The Countess of Bath to Lady Jermyn,*

‘ I have pused. your lre. dated the vijth of this psente. month, as an answer unto my daughter Spring’s letter to you directed, for your friendly meane in the matter depending between her and my sonne her husband, and have weyed the same as it is worthye—wth whose act therein donne, w^{thout} my consent, and contraye unto my mynde, I am not a little offended. And the more for she did write unto so ingrate and unthankful a one as you are. And, whereas, you charge both me and her, that we should not only seek to abuse her husband, but also to deprave yo^r husband, in his doing, as in dysdaining and mysnaming of hym, calling hym tode, and other evil names. I am right well assured that I, and my said daughter hath not hitherto nether abused her said husband in ene pointe; unles you call yt abusinge to seke to bring them together, which is meritorious and acceptable before God, and the contrary of hym, detested and abhorred, nor yet abused your husband, in such sorte as you have touched us in your said lres. Wherefore, yt ill beseemeth you so untrulye to reporte and wright of me, not being able to bring forth proof to justify the same. And also, whereas you wright that nobody could have opined the usage of your husband’s house better than she, I assure you I never harde her dispraise, at any time, his doings; althought she hath just cause fo bewayle the time that ever she came wⁱⁿ his house. And further, where you and yor. husband untruly supposeth that he is by me and mine laughed and scorned at, w^h is only y^r vain ymaginacion, and no otherwise, and that he will aunswer thereunto when he seeth time, do you and he therein, as ye liste—I weye it not. You needed not to have written of your husband’s poverty; for his wealth is known to all the countrie, and, for byting and eating of you, I think nobody mindeth the same; for you are too old, and too tough, too be eaten or bitten. I shall find better meate—your tauntes be too much. And, if you wiste how littel they are esteemed, you wold not waste penne and

ink about them. And, wher you threaten to do the worst you can to her, spare you not. Yet she must live, and, thanks be to God, hath friends to provide for her, to kepe her like a gentlewoman, during her life. From my house at Hengrave, this present Sunday morning, vij August.'

' To my La. Jermyn, at Rushbrook, give these.'

Mrs. Spring's mother married the Earl of Bath, after her husband Sir T. Kytson's death in 1540. His funeral expences, "monthes mynde," and alms on the occasion, amounted to no less than 257*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* The inventory of his effects contains many curious particulars. For instance, his wares in the warehouses in London consisted of "cloth of gold, sattins, tapistry, velvets, furs, fustians, bags of pepper, cloves, madder *," &c.; his "redy monyes" was above twenty hundred pounds; among his doubtful debts in England, are enumerated, "from John Byrked the King's cook, *xli.* from Sir Robert Kytson preast, *xls.* from my Lorde of Bathe, *lxxvli.* *vjs.* *viiij*d.** from Sir Henry Longe, Knight, *xxxvii*l.** *xiijs.* *iiij*d.**" And among the desperate debts are "from my Lord of St. Alban's, *xiijs.* *iiij*d.** from

* Among the wares appears a curious item:—

"Itm, a hundryth wyght of amletts for the neke.. *xxxs.* *iiij*d.**

Dr. Hering, in his "Preservatives against the Pestilence," 4to. London, 1625, has the following passage: "Perceiving many in this citie to weare about their necks upon the region of the heart certain placentes or amulets (as preservatives against the pestilence) confected of arsenick, my opinion is, that they are so farre from effecting any good in this kind, as a preventive, that they are very dangerous and hurtful, if not pernicious, to those that weare them."

Sir Thomas Percy, Knight, xli. from my Lord of Northumberlande, iij*li*. vjs. vd."

On the death of King Edward VI. in 1553, the Earl and Countess of Bath, the possessors of Hengrave, being rigid catholics, sided with Queen Mary, and consequently rose to considerable power and influence during her reign. Their correspondence developes many facts well worth preservation ; but our limits forbid the insertion of entire letters, and confine us to a selection of passages. The following, however, is too historically important to be omitted :—

" John Browne to the Earl of Bath.

" Right worshipful and my singular good Lord and mr.—My bownden dewty premysed in most hmbly weys, this shall be to signifye unto y' good Lordshippe of such newes as hathe been in London sythe y' deptime. First, on St. Paul's day last was there in London a general pcession the lyke hath not been seen—all the parsons, vicars, and curatts of all London, with clarks were called to Paull's church, and ther a solemn sermone made by the Archdeacon of London, declaring unto them the occasyon of their thyther assemble, which was that they shoulde give unto God most hartty thanks for that the realme of England was convertyd from ther heresye unto the catholyc faythe : that endyd, they went forth in pcession, having before them lxxxvj crossys, and all the clarks and prsts in rich copes, the certain number of whom I cannot wright ; then all the byshops w'hout copes, after whom followed a great number of torches ; and my Lord of London, in his pontifical vestures, bare the sacrament under a rich canopye : then followed my Lord Maior and the Aldermen, w' all the companyes of London, in their lyverys, of whom ther was no small numbr, thus going from Paul's church to Lydden Hall, and so returning agayn shortlye. After came the King and my L. Cardinall to Paull's, accompanyd with all the nobilitie both of the English Lords and also of straungers, and ther had a

solemn mass: that endyd, my L. Cardinal gave a solemn benedictyon, and so departyd, and at nyght was there bonfyres mad throughout all the streets of London. The Munday after my Lord Chauncellor, wythe all the bysshopes and certen of the counsell began to sitt for the punishment of heryticks—so that, before the making of this letter, they had called before them Hoppar, Barlowe, Rogers, Crane, Cardmaker, Taylor, Bradford, and Saunders, of the w^{ch} number Barlowe and Cardmaker submitted themselves, and Hoppar and Rogers stood so stout that my L. Chauncellor gave sentences against them, and delyvered them to the Sheriffes of London, and what shall come of the rest as yet I can not tell. Further sythe y^r departyng there hath been no proclamatyon made; yet w^t great suit I obteyned vij. proclamations of Cawoode, the w^{ch} shall be shortly proclaymed, and would be ryght glad yf they may do y^r Lordshippe pleasure. Thus desyring your Lordship to have me in y^r good remembrance, I shall unfeynedly praye for y^r presvayson wyth my good Lady and all yo^r whole family. From London the xxx of January, 1554.

“ Y^r feythfull servant,

“ JOHN BROWNE.”

“ To the Right Honorable and hys singular good L. and mr. my Lord the Erle of Bath, give these.”

The ensuing year the members of the Privy Council, signing “ Shrewsbury, Robert Rochester, T. Bourne, E. Waldegrave, William Petre, Frauncys Englefelde, and Thomas Wharton,” advise Lord Bath of the imprisonment of his son, Henry Bourcher, in the following quaint but friendly terms —

“ After o^r right hartie comendacions to yo^r good L.—where we have been partly don t^runderstand that Henry Bourcher, one of y^r younger sonnes, remaining here in the courte, hath, besides sundry other ptes committed heretofore now of late otherwise used himself than becom him, for reformacion whereof and example of other young men we have committed him to the Fleete—forasmuch as y^r Lo. is one of this boarde, and being his father will be glad, we dare say to see his amendment, which is only on our behalf intended

—we have thought good therefore, not only to give you knowledge what we have done, but also because youth is fraile, and we know not in what sorte he is best here, having a greater scope of liberty than is requisite for one of his yeres: we think verily y^r L. shall do right well, either t^rapointe him, from henceforth, to attend upon some one that will take some care of him, and have regarde to his doings, or else to revoke him home to yo^r own house, and there to traine him up for a tyme, in such sorte as may be most honourable for yo^r Lordship, and profitable to the young gentleman himself in tyme to cum; of whose well doing we shall be as glad, as in very dede, we would be sorry for the contrary.”

In about a fortnight Sir W. Petre writes, that the youngster had been “discharged out of the Fleete w^t a good admonition, and the causes of hys comytting to the Fleete were, indeed, for no great offences, but only for certayn young parts; w^h, as appereth by himself, shall do him moche good.” The Lord Chancellor, notwithstanding, declines placing Master Henry among his servants, under the pretence of being already overcharged. In 1556 another son is disposed of, according to an

Extract of a Letter from the Countess to the Earl of Bath.

“I have thought good to stay yo^r sone George Bourcher at an yene of chancery, whereby he may be entered into some knowledge, and, afterwards, to be set to the yens of coorte. I have talked with the pryncypal of Furnifalls Ynn, and he will see that he shall apply his book, and also he shall have the controwlars chawoman, and a very onest young gentleman to be his bedfellow. I wyll do nothing wthout yo^r adveys, and therefore I praye you send me worde. This will be chargeable, but yett y^r shall be to hym hereafter a great commoditye.”

In July of the same year we find the Earl of Bath instructed by the Privy Council,—“that amongst divers other devillishe practices, attempted from time to time, by Dudleye, Asheton, and other tray-

tours in Fraunce, they have now, lastiley, sent over one Cleoburye, an infamed person, into the extreme parts of Essex and Suff. wher, naming himself to be Erle of Devon, he hath, by spreading abroad of rendezvous lres, and proclamacons, peured as moch as in hym lay, to stirre the K. and Queene's Maties subjects, in those p^{ts}, to rebellion ;” and he is required to keep a watchful eye on these parts of the country.

A very curious letter, on a matter of another kind, is given from the Countess of Bath to Mr. Savage. It is as follows :—

“ Mr. Savage, wheras, not long syns, a servant of myn beyng in your company, at your cominge from London, and my selfe repayring towards the same, whereby ye were occasioned to meet me, your pleasure was to ask of my servants, ‘ what I was,’ who answered, ‘ the Countess of Bathe, ye, being therewith in no small rage, gave me, I thank you, your gentle blessing, praying God the plague and pestilence to lyght on me. In good faith, to my knowledge, I never offended you in my lyffe ; wherefore, the more is your shame so to use me. But when I remember your name, *Savage*, I find it not much dissenting from your natural disposition, for, indede, if I might so grossly term it, this beastly blessing of yours declare you to be more savage or brutish than discreet or reasonable in so cruelly cursing me y^e never harmyd you. But even agreeable to the differens of dispositions, so shall all natures be founde, y^e is to say, some godly, some graceless, some gentleman-lyke, some ruffian-lyke. For, indede, yf ye dyd so saye, then seemed you more ruffyan-lyke than gentleman-lyke, and I doubte not, y^e but when I have advertysed my betters, and yours, of this your dishonest behaviour, ye shall have no great cause to pleasure in your so doynge ; and in malisyng me ye feel y^e owne harme, for none can ye do to me, and then are ye in worse case than the serpente ; for the srpent kepithe his poyson w^out his owen perill, and so cannot the mali-

cious man, which hurtithe himself most wth his owne malice or poyson. And to be brief, if ye dyd so saye,—then are ye no honest man, and yf ye dyd not,—then discharge you of your burden. Thus leave I you, praying God, in the stead of your plague and pestilence, wished me, to sende you, instede of a malycious mynde, an honest one; whereof ye have nede, as it appeareth.”

The following draws a singular picture of the pastimes in the early part of Elizabeth's reign:—

—“*Christopher Playter to Mr. Kytson.*

—“At Christ. time here were certyne ma's of defence that did challenge all comers at all weapons, as long sworde, staff, sword and buckler, rapier, with the dagger: and here was many broken heads, and one of the m^{rs} of defence dyed upon the hurt w^{ch} he received on his head. This challenge was before the quenes Ma^{ty}, who seemed to have pleasure thein; for when some of them would have sollen a broken pate, her Majesty bade him not to be ashamed to put off his cap, and the blood was spied to run about his face. There was also at the corte new plays, w^{ch} lasted almost all night—the name of the play was huff—suff—and ruff, with other masks, both of ladies and gents. We have also since Lent a dangerous proclamation for eating of fleshe, and another proclamation concerning base monies, as four-pence ob. to be no longer current than to mid April.”

We shall close our account of the Kytson family with extracts from their household books: these are interesting from the view they give of the domestic economy of a large establishment, and of the prices of commodities at the period to which they relate; supplying, in some degree, from their minute details, a family journal, and thus pourtraying the manners of the times.

“*A Selection from Entries in a Book called ‘The titles containing the expenses of household and other forren charges and money defraied by me,*

Thomas Fryer, for the use of Mr. Thomas Kytson, Squire, beginning the first of October, 1572:" (the titles being those of foreign charges, fresh acates, gross provisions, rewards, apparel, servants' wages, and law charges.)

"To Damon the cater for iij dosen bastard plovers vijs. viijd.—for ij dosen larks xijd.—iij dosen small birds iiijd.—In rewarde for a poore fellowe wh brought arthurchokes from Keninghall unto my m^{res} and plomes, vjd.—To the Queen's Players vjs.—To Richard Smith, servant to Mr. John Jermyn, of Debden, for presenting a hernesewe and a feasant, xijd.—For a payer of shoes for Luke the spaniel boy, xiiijd.—To Adkyns of Bury, surgeon, for seting of ij dogges legs, and for the keeping of them, vs.—Payed for three sheets thick grose paper to decke the bores heade in Christmas, xijd.—More payed to Bushe of Bury, paynter, for the paynting the bores head with sondry colors, ijs.—To Meg and Mary, to play at maw in Chrystmas time, xs.—To the parson at Hengrave for his q^{rts} wages, due at Christmas, Ls.—To the wariner for cc coneys del. by him this q^{rt}. xliiij s."

In December we find the charges running into expense:—

For vijli. almon comfitts, ijs. iiijd.—for ijli. comfitts ready gilte, vs. viijd.—for ijli. carrawaye comfitts, ijs. iiijd.—for toyes for marchepane bread, vs. iiijd.—for ijli. musk comfitts, ijs. viiijd.—for di. li. red bisketts and red colyanders, viijd.—for ijli. biskett breade, ijs.—for j. c. marchepane bread,

xvj*d.*—for iiij suger loves, cont^r lxij*li.* di. at xiiij*d.* the di., iij*li.* xijs. xj*d.*—For xiiij gallons of Mucedell, at ijs. viij*d.* the gallon, xxxiijs. viij*d.*—for xx gallons j q^{rt}. Malmsey, at ijs. the gallon, with xd. for spoonage and carriage, xlijs. viij*d.*—for xj gallons iij q^{rs}. sack, at ijs. the gallon, with iiij*d.* for spoonage, xxiijs. xd.—For xij gallons j q^{rt}. rennish wyne, xxiijs. vj*d.*—for iij gallons of sallet oyle, xvjs.—for iiij gallons of rape oyle, xijs.—for j pottle of oyle for armoury, xvj*d.*”

The account goes on—

“ For a treable violin, xx*s.*—To Gyle of Bury for vij mallards, v curlews, vj teals, iiij knottes, j plovers, and xxx stintes, bought togeather, xix*s.* iiij*d.*—To one which gathered for a burning, xij*d.*—To the midwife when M^{rs}. Cornwalleis was brought to bed, x*s.*—For dying my m^r. his purple velvet hose into black, viij*d.*—For a pinte of wormwoode wine, iij*d.*—To Mr. Prannel, vintner, for ij tunnes gascoyne wine, at xv*li.* vjs. viij*d.* the tunne, xxx*li.* xiijs. iiij*d.*—for a terse of wine more, liijs. iiij*d.*—for j butte of sacke, ix*li.*—In rewarde to Mr. Carew his man for bringing a Cornish choughe unto my m^{res}., xij*d.*—In rewarde to the keeper of the gardens at Whitehall, at my m^{res}. being there, xx*d.*—In rewarde for letting my m^{res}. bloode, iiij*s.* iiij*d.*—To Dr. Attesloe for his paines in coming to my m^{res}. being sicke of the measelles, x*s.*—To Dr. Langeton, for ministering of certayne fysicke unto my m^r. and my m^{res}. at one time, x*li.* vjs.—To the poticary for certain poticary stuffe for my m^r. and my m^{res}.

lixs. *xd.*—To Mr. Andrew's man for bringing a frame of woode upon w^h they play wth pellets, called trowe maddam, *vjd.*—To my m^{res.} as so much by her given to two maids w^h came out of Essex to teach the maides to fatte capons, *xiijs. xiijd.*—To Gower, of London, painter, for v pictures. *vjli. vs.*—Del. to my m^{r.} by the orders of my m^{res.}, as so much lost at play by my m^{r.} in London, *vli.*—For wormwoode to lay amongst the bedding at Coleman Streete, *xijd.*—For xvij ox livers for the spaniels, *xvjd.*—For a bull to kill in Christmas time, *xxxiijs. iiijd.*—In rewarde to the spaniell-boy, Montague, at his departing my m^{r.} his service, *vjs. viijd.*—To John Cocker for a nette to catch rooks for hawks meate, *iijs. vjd.*—In rewarde to ij men which my m^{res.} did save from hanging, *ijs. vjd.*—To Richard Smith for bringing certain young grasses to plant in my m^{r.} his ortisyarde, *ijs.*—To a bear-man for bringing his bears to Hengrave, *ijs. vjd.*—For a link to alight my m^{r.} home from a play at the temple on Candlemas night, *iiijd.*—In rewarde to vj trumpeters, at my m^{r.} his comand^t, for sounding before his chamber on twelfth day, *xs.*—In rewarde to the yeomon of the wardrobe at the Tower, *ijs.*—to him that keepeth the lions, *vjd.*—Given in rewarde to the clerk of Coleman St. for oftentimes bringing bills of the sickness in town, *xijd.*—In rewarde to Johnson the musician, for his charges in awayting on my L. of Leycester at Kennelworth, *xs.*—In rewarde to Mr. Boldero his man for bring-

ing the apes, *iijd.*—In rewarde to the morres dancers, at my m^r. his return into the country, *ij.*—For a song for my m^r. and the ditty to the same, *ijs.* *iiijd.*—For firing the guns diverse times over the water, *iijd.*—For a shepard's calendar, *ijs.*" The last entry is in April, 1583.

We shall close these curious extracts from this valuable addition to the stock of family memoirs, and peculiarly English antiquities, with the following anecdote from the concluding pages of the history, which are principally devoted to the pedigree of the Gages :—

Sir John Gage having married Penelope Darcy, the great grandmother of Sir T. Kytson, of whom it is related, " that Sir John Trenchard, Sir John Gage, and Sir William Hervey, each solicited her in marriage at the same time ; and that to keep peace between the rivals, she threatened the first aggressor with her perpetual displeasure ; humorously telling them, that, if they would wait, she should have them all in their turns ; a promise which the lady actually performed."

A CURIOUS, BUT INSTRUCTIVE, LETTER FROM JOHN
DE LA POLE, DUKE OF SUFFOLK, TO HIS SON.

THE following letter, preserved by Sir John Fenn, in his very curious collection of the Paston Letters, which shew that homage which vice is obliged to pay to virtue, and that earnest desire which even the most profligate persons are animated with, that

those who are dear to them may escape the snares and temptations into which they have fallen :—

‘My dere and only welbeloved sone, I beseche oure Lorde in heven, the Maker of alle the world, to blesse you, and to send you eu’ grace to love hym; to the which, as far as a fader may charge his child, I both charge you and prei you to sette all your spirites and wittes to do and to knowe his holy lawes and commandments, by the which ye shall, with his grete m’cy, passe all the grete tempestes and troubles of yi. wrecched world; and that also, wetyngly ye do nothyng for love nor drede of any erthely creature that should displease hym. And yre as any freelte maketh you to falle, he sendeth in hys m’cy sooe to call you to hym agen, with repentance, satisfaccon, and contricon of your herte, never more in will to offende hym.

‘Secondly : next hym, above all ertheley thyng, to be trewe liege man in herte, in thought, in dede, unto the kyng, our aldermost high and dredde sou’erygne lord, to whom both ye and I been so moche bound too; chargyng you, as fader can and may, rather to die yan’ to be the contrarye, or to knowe any thyng that were agenste the welfare or p’sp’ite of his most riall p’sone, but that, as ferre as youre body and lyf may strecche, ye lyve and die to defende it; and to lete his highnesse have knowlache thereof in alle that haste ye can.

‘Thirdly : in the same wyse I charge you, my dere sone, always, as ye be bounden by the com-

maundement of God to do, to love, to worshepe youre Lady and moder, and also, that ye obey alwey her com'aundments, and to believe her councelles and advises, in all your works, the which dredeth not but shall be best and trewest to you. And yef any other body would sterve you to the contrarie, to flee the councell in any wyse, for ye shall fynde it naught and evyll.

Forthermore, as ferre as fader may and can charge you in any wyse to flee the company and councell of proude men, of coveitouse men, and of flaterying men, the more especially and myghtily to withstande hem, and not to draw ne to medle with hem with all your myghte and power; and to draw to you and to your company good and v'tuose men, and such as ben of good conv'sacon and of trouthe, and be them shall nev' be deseyved, nor repente you off: moreover, nev' follow your owne witte in no wyse, but in all your werkes, of such folks as I write of above axeth you advice and councell; and doing thus, with the m'cy of God, ye shall do right wel, and lyve in right moch worshepe and great hearts-ease and rest. And I will be to you as good lord and fader as my hert can thynke. And last of all, as hertily and as lovyngly as ever fader blessed his child in erthe, I give you the blessing of our Lord and of me, whiche of hys infynite m'cy encrease in alle vertu and good lyvyng. And with your blood, may he his grace, from kynrede to kynrede, multeplye in this erthe to his

s'vise in such wyse, as after ye departying fro' this wretched world, here, ye and they may glorefye him et'nally amungs his aungelys in hevyn.

' Written of myn hand, the day of my dep'tying from the land; your trewe and lovyng fader,

' SUFFOLK.'

EXTRACT from the UNPUBLISHED DIARY of ARTHUR COLLINS, Esq. Author of the "*Peerage of England*."

" Jan. 30, 1752.

" I BREAKFASTED with their Graces the Duke and Dutchess of Portland, with their two eldest daughters, Lady Elizabeth Cavendish Bentinck, and Lady Henrietta Cavendish Bentinck, both very beautiful in their persons, of most agreeable sweet tempers, with a modest and affable behaviour. The discourse between us gave me an opportunity to say how I was descended, and the misfortunes that attended my family and myself; on which they seemed to pity me, but said nothing more. The Countess of Oxford had sent up pictures of her ancestors to be engraved by Mr. Vertue, one of the most eminent of his profession; but her Grace of Portland, thinking of the expence, determined to have only two engraved, that of Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury, who was the advancer of the noble family of Cavendish, and of Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury, a person very famous, and from whom the Countess of Oxford was also descended.

Her Grace desired me to call on Mr. Vertue that he might have the pictures ; which I did, and then returned to Highgate, where I employed myself in writing part of the Life of Denzil Lord Holles, and never stirred out of my house till February 5, that I came to London.

“ About half an hour after 12 o'clock I took coach for St. James's, to attend the King's Levee, and to speak to some of the Lords to intercede for me ; but principally in hopes of seeing the Duke of Newcastle, who had told me to wait on him soon after the meeting of the Parliament, which I had done at three several times ; but his Grace was so taken up with business, as he said, he had not time to talk with me. I therefore wrote the following letter, with an intent to deliver it to him at St. James's before he went to the King.

‘ May it place your Grace,

‘ When I consider what your Grace has said to me, with what most of the Nobility have told me, and am yet kept in suspence, it fills me with amazement ; but I have a heart and a spirit (with blood from my ancestors) not to be conquered by oppression, or I could not have wrote that which will make my name memorable to after-ages ; celebrating the memory of eminent and extraordinary persons, and transmitting their virtues for the imitation of posterity, being one of the principal ends and duties of History.

‘ I am the son of misfortune, my father having

run through more than 30,000*l.* and, from my fruitless representations, am likely to die so; but I have left in manuscript an account of my family, my life, and the cruel usage I have very undeservedly undergone, with copies of the letters I have wrote on the occasion, of which are several to your Grace, whereby posterity may know I have not been wanting either in industry, which the books I have published will justify, or in my application for preferment, which I so well deserve.

‘ If your Grace has any compassion for me, I humbly beg you will order notice to be left at Mr. Withers’s, bookseller, in Fleet-Street, when I may have the honour to wait on you, who am your Grace’s most faithfull and devoted servant,

‘ Feb. 5, 1752.

‘ ARTHUR COLLINS.’

“ Whilst I waited for his Grace’s coming to St. James’s, I spoke to the Duke of Portland, telling him I had three more sheets printed of the Life of the Earl of Clare that I had not delivered to him, but would bring them to his Grace the next morning; whereunto he said, it would be as well if I sent them, which I thought shewed a coldness, *and induced me not to send them till Friday morning.* I went in afterwards, with many that attended to the King, who spoke first to the Duke of Portland, then to the Earl of Buckingham, the Duke of Grafton, and the Lord Delawarr, who stood together, and to Sir John Ligonier. The Marquis of Rockingham was the Lord of the Bedchamber in waiting, and intro-

duced two persons to kiss the King's hand. My modesty would not permit me to stand in the first rank ; but I stood so as to be seen by the Lords, as also the King ; but having never had the honour of being introduced to his Majesty, was unknown to him.

“ On departing out of the King's Bed-chamber, the Lord Viscount Gage spoke to me, asking whether I was on a new edition of the Peerage. I told him, I had made collections towards it ; but, there being so much to write, it was impossible, without some provision, to enable me to keep a person to transcribe for me, to finish it in the manner I desired ; and therefore, till that was done, I should think no further of it ; and I told my Lord Delawarr the same, who said that I deserved to be provided for. I waited till half an hour after two, and the Duke of Newcastle not coming, and being told by the waiters it was then in vain to expect seeing of him, I left the court, intending to dine with Mr. Perry (of Penshurst,) in Berkeley-square, to whom I was always welcome ; but, on my way there, being to pass Arundel-street, I resolved to call first on the Earl Granville, having ever had easy access to him. Being admitted to his Lordship, and making complaint how hard it was with me, telling him I had been at the King's Levee, and the answer I had given to my Lord Gage, he said, that he had often spoke for me, and would again ; that he knew several

Lords commiserated my condition; and that he hoped very soon to tell me of some provision being made for me, which he heartily wished. I must say, that his Lordship was ever an encourager of Literature; and, on several occasions when I have been with him, has said to other Lords present at the same time, 'Here is Collins, who has served us, and we do nothing for him;' to which all the answer made was, 'that the Ministry ought to show me more favour.' Taking leave of his Lordship, I went into Berkeley-square, and dined with Mr. Perry, his Lady, and Mr. Burnaby, who had been in foreign parts one of the King's Ministers; and from the observation I made of him, he seemed to be a person of address and affable behaviour*. I took my leave of him about five o'clock; and in my return to my chambers in the Temple, I made it my way to call at Newcastle House, in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, where I delivered the letter before-mentioned, went to my chambers, and staid there the whole evening, musing on what I should do the next morning, and looking over papers."

It is pleasing to add, that provision was at length made for this most able and indefatigable Historian and Genealogist; the King granting him a pension of 400*l. per annum*, which he enjoyed, however, but a few years.

* "Mr. Perry, before Mr. Burnaby came, asked my opinion of the way he intended to pursue in obtaining the Barony of Lisle, to which his Lady had pretence; and desired me to draw the case of the estate of the Barony, which I promised to do."

REMARKABLE INSTANCES OF THE AFFECTION OF
FOSTER-FATHERS, &c. IN FORMER TIMES.

OF the affection between the foster-father, foster-mother, and foster-brother, instances in Wales were very frequent. The fidelity of Robin ap Inko, foster-brother to Ievan ap Vychan, of the house of Gwedir, in the reign of Edward IV., was a most noted one. In a fatal feud, between Ievan and his brother-in-law, Rys ap Howel, the latter expecting a fray, provided a butcher to murder Ievan in the confusion of the battle, and to him he gave orders in these terms. The butcher not being acquainted with Ievan, Ap Rys said, 'Thou shalt soon discern him from the rest by his stature, and he will make way before him. There is a foster-brother of his, one Robin ap Inko, a little fellow, that useth to match him behind: take heed of him, for be the encounter never so hot, his eye is ever on his foster-brother;' and so it happened. Robin suspected the treachery, and seeing the butcher watching his opportunity, came behind him and knocked him on the head on the moment in which he had come behind Ievan, and had aimed one at that of his beloved foster-brother. The patrimony of his faithful follower was in the parish of Llanderfel; and to this day retains the name of Tyddin Inko.

ANECDOTE OF THE VALUE OF MONEY IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

SIR ROGER MOYSTON had a great intimacy with Pyers Pennant, his contemporary neighbour at Bychton. Both seem to have been born companions, as is evident from the P. S. to the following curious epistle:—

Moysten, ————— 1674.

‘ Dear Pyers,

‘ I hope you will excuse me for asking for the 4*l.* you owe me for the pair of oxen ; for I want the money to make up 20*l.* to send my son to Oxford next week.

‘ I am, Dear Pyers,

‘ Your’s, &c. &c.

‘ ROGER MOYSTEN.

‘ P. S. How does your head do this morning ? Mine aches confoundedly.’

At this time money was so scarce, that 4*l.* was a price for a pair of oxen ; and the Baronet of Moysten was thought very liberal in sending his heir apparent to the university with 20*l.* in his pocket.

THE MAGNIFICENCE, FOLLY, AND BARBARITY OF
THE NOBILITY OF EARLY TIMES.

THE following brief narrative, taken from the records of Languedoc, will evince the magnificence, folly, and barbarity, habitual to the nobility of the earlier ages : in 1174, Henry II. of France, called

together the Seigneurs of Languedoc, in order to mediate a peace between the Count of Toulouse and the King of Arragon. As Henry, however, did not attend, the nobles had nothing to do but to emulate each other in wild magnificence, extended to insanity. Among other instances, the Countess Urgel sent to the meeting a diadem worth 4000 modern pounds, to be placed on the head of a wretched buffoon. The Count of Toulouse sent a donation of 4000*l.* to a favourite knight, who distributed that sum among all the poorer knights that attended the meeting. The Seigneur Guillaume Gios de Martel, gave an immense dinner, the viands being all cooked by the flame of wax tapers. But the singularly rational magnificence of Count Bertrand Rimbault, attracted the loudest applause ; for he set the peasants about Beaucaire to plough up the soil ; and then he proudly and openly sowed therein small pieces of money, to the amount of fifteen hundred English guineas. Piqued at this princely extravagance, and determined to outdo his neighbours in savage brutality, if he could not in prodigality, the Lord Raimond Vernons ordered thirty of his most beautiful and valuable horses to be tied to stakes, and surrounded with dry wood ; he then heroically lighted the piles, and consumed his favourites alive.

The literary character of the same age is marked by a curious pun on the name of Alexander Ne-

quam, a good grammarian, and a writer of Latin poetry. He was bred at the university of Paris; and when he desired to be readmitted into St. Alban's Priory, the Abbot answered, 'Si bonus sis Venias; si nequam nequaquam.' Displeased at this allusion, he ever after called himself Neckham.

Explanation of what is called "ACCEPTING the CHILTERN HUNDREDS," in BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE lies contiguous to Northamptonshire on the north, Oxfordshire on the west, Berkshire and a point of Surrey on the south, and the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Bedford on the east.

The southern part of Buckinghamshire, beyond the banks of the Thames, which in its natural boundary in this direction, is principally taken up with the Chiltern-hills, and their appendages, composed of chalk, and in various parts covered with woods. Some of its eminences are of considerable height, and afford fine prospects.

The Chiltern Hills, or Hundreds, belong to the crown, or, at least, have, for time immemorial, had an officer under it, with the title of Steward. Of this office, as well as of that of Steward of the manor of East Hundreds in Berkshire, it is remarkable, that, although frequently conferred upon members of the House of Commons, it is not productive of any honour or emolument whatever; being granted

versal. In our own, and every parish, on the returning anniversary of the Saint, little pavilions were constructed of boughs; and the immediate neighbourhood of St. Michael's resounded with the voice of hospitality, and the notes of merriment.

But few persons are ever to be entrusted to feast, and fewer are to be allowed to meet in numbers together; there is a contagious viciousness in crowds: though each individual of them alone, and by himself, would act with a religious propriety; yet, altogether, they act with irreligion and folly; the fire imperceptibly runs from breast to breast; each contributes to swell the tide of spirits beyond its proper bounds, and wickedness and absurdity enter at the breach that is made in reason; and this viciousness is always augmented in its force, when the grosser spirits, that are merely the result of feasting, mingle and ferment in the tide. The feasting of the Saint's day was soon abused; and it seems to have been greatly so before the reign of Edgar, as the intemperance of the festival was then creeping even into the Vigil, and even mixing with the offices of religion. In the very body of the church, when the people were assembled for devotion, they were beginning to mind diversions, and introduce drinkings; and so gross an abuse of the eve could have stolen in only from the licentiousness of the festival. The growing intemperance would gradually stain the service of the Vigil, till the festivity of it was converted, as it now is, into

the rigour of a fast. The disorders would be less obnoxious on the day itself, because they did not intrude within the church, and profane the prayers; but they were certainly greater, and went on increasing in viciousness and folly, till they too justly scandalized the puritans of the last century, and numbers of the wakes were disused entirely. Our own has long been discontinued. It was abolished in 1536, by the law of Henry VIII., which appears to have had little or no influence on the general practice. It was put down by a particular and local order in 1579, and forgotten in the long and rigid reign of puritanism that was then commencing at Manchester; and Henry Earl of Derby, Henry Earl of Huntingdon, William Lord Bishop of Chester, and others of high commission under Queen Elizabeth, assembled at Manchester, in 1597, and issued orders against pipers and minstrels playing, making and frequenting ale-house, bear-beatings, and bull-beatings on the Sunday, or any other day of the week in time of divine service; and prohibited for the future all superfluous and superstitious ringing, common feasts, and wakes. But the wake of the neighbouring parish of Eccles is celebrated among us to the present day; and a considerable number of people resort to it annually from our own and the adjoining parishes.

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ment, and must have been familiar equally to the Britons and the Saxons, being observed among the churches of Asia and Europe in the sixth century, and by those of west Europe in the seventh. And equally in Asia and Europe, equally on the continent and the islands, these celebrities were the causes of those commercial marts, which we denominate fairs. The people resorted in crowds to the festival, and a considerable provision would be wanted for their entertainment. The prospect of interest invited the little traders of the country to come with their wares; and the convenience of the accommodation promoted a vigorous sale among the people, and other traders were induced, by the experience of these, to bring in different articles, and hope for an equal sale. Thus, among the many pavilions for hospitality in the neighbourhood of the church, various booths were erected for the sale of commodities. In large towns, surrounded with populous districts, the resort of the people to the wake would be great, and the attendance of traders at the celebrity, were numerous; and this resort, and this attendance, constituted a fair.

Basil expressly mentions the numerous appearance of traders at these festivals in Asia, and Gregory notes the same custom to be common in Europe. And, as the festival was observed on a Feria, or holy-day, it as naturally assumed to itself and as naturally communicated to the mart, the appellation of Feria, or fair. The same among the

Saxons, the French, the Germans, the Britons, *Fager, Foix, Feyer, Faire*; the word was derived from the same source in all these nations, the one ecclesiastical language of West Europe at this period. And several of our most ancient fairs appear to have been actually held, and have been actually continued to our own time, on the original church holidays of the places; as that on the festival of St. Peter's Church, in Westminster; another on the feast of St. Cuthbert, and St. Cuthbert's in Durham; and a third on the holiday of St. Bartholomew, in London.

CHARACTERISTIC TRAITS OF THE ANCIENT SCOTCH HIGHLANDERS.

THE Highlanders were composed of a number of tribes, called *clans*, each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the lands of a different chieftain. The members of every tribe were united to each other, not only by the feudal, but by the patriarchal bond; for while the individuals which composed it were vassals or tenants of their own hereditary chieftain, they were also descended from his family, and could count exactly the degree of their descent. The right of primogeniture, moreover, together with the weakness of the laws to reach inaccessible countries, and more inaccessible men, had, in the revolution of centuries, converted these natural principles of connexion between the chieftain and his people into the most sacred ties of hu-

man life. The castle of the chieftain was a kind of palace to which every man of his tribe was made welcome, and where he was entertained according to his station in time of peace, and to which all flocked at the sound of war. Thus the meanest of the clan, knowing himself to be as well born as the head of it, revered in the chieftain his own blood; complained not of the difference of station into which fortune had thrown him, and respected himself. The chieftain, in return, bestowed a protection, founded equally on gratitude and a consciousness of his own interest. Hence the Highlanders, whom more savage nations called savage, carried in the outward expression of their manners the politeness of courts without their vices; and, in their bosoms, the high point of honour, without its follies.

Their dress, which was the last remains of the Roman habit in Europe, was well suited to the nature of their country, and still better to the necessities of war: it consisted of a roll of light woollen, called a plaid, six yards in length, and two in breadth, wrapped loosely round the body, the upper lappet of which rested on the left shoulder, leaving the right arm at full liberty; a jacket of thick cloth fitted tightly to the body, and a loose short garment of light woollen, which went round the waist, and covered the thigh. In rain they formed the plaid into folds, and, laying it on the shoulders, were covered as with a roof. When they were

obliged to lie abroad in the hills in their hunting parties, or tending their cattle, or in war, the plaid served them both for bed and covering; for, when three men slept together, they could spread three folds of cloth below, and six above them. The garters of their stockings were tied under the knee, with a view to give more freedom to the limb; and they wore no breeches, that they might climb the mountains with greater ease. The lightness or looseness of their dress, the habit they had of going always on foot, never on horseback, their love of long journies, and, above all, that patience of hunger and every kind of hardship, which carried their bodies forward even after their spirits were exhausted, made them exceed all other European nations in speed and perseverance of march. They marched sometimes sixty miles in a day, without food or halting, over mountains, along rocks, through morasses. In encampments they were expert at forming beds in a moment, by tying together bundles of heath, and fixing them upright in the ground; an art which, as the beds were both soft and dry, preserved their health in the field, when other soldiers lost theirs.

Their arms were a broad sword, a dagger, called the dirk, a target, a musket, and two pistols; so that they carried the long sword of the Celts, the *pugio* of the Romans, the shield of the ancients, and both kinds of modern fire-arms altogether. In battle they threw away the plaid and garment, and

fought in their jackets; making thus their movements quicker, and their strokes more forcible. Their advance to battle was rapid, like the charge of dragoons: when near the enemy, they stopped a little, to draw breath and discharge their muskets, which they then dropped on the ground; advancing, they fired their pistols, which they threw almost at the same instant at the heads of their opponents. They then rushed into their ranks with the broad sword, as they ran on, so as to conquer the enemy's eye while his body was yet unhurt. They fought not in long and regular lines, but in separate bands, like wedges, condensed and firm; the army being ranged according to the clans that composed it, and each clan according to its families; so that there arose a competition in valour of clan with clan, of family with family, of brother with brother. To make an opening in regular troops, and to conquer, they reckoned the same thing, because in close engagements, and in broken ranks, no regular troops could withstand them. They received the bayonet in the target, which they carried on the left arm; then, turning it aside, or twisting it in the target, they attacked with the broad sword the enemy encumbered and defenceless; and where they could not wield the broad sword, they stabbed with the dirk. The only foes they dreaded were cavalry, to which many causes contributed: the novelty of the enemy; their want of the bayonet to receive the shock

of the horse; the attack made upon them with their own weapon, the broad sword; the size of dragoon horses appearing larger to them, from a comparison with those of their own country; but above all, a belief entertained universally among the lower class of Highlanders, that a war-horse is taught to fight with his feet and teeth.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, the victories of the Highlanders have always been more honourable for themselves than of consequence to others. A river stopped them, because they were unaccustomed to swim; a fort had the same effect, because they knew not the science of attack: they wanted cannon, carriages, and magazines, from their poverty, and ignorance of the arts: they spoke an unknown language, and therefore could derive their resources only from themselves. Although their respect for their chieftains gave them, as long as they continued in the field, that exact habit of obedience, which the excessive rigour of discipline only can secure over other troops, yet, as soon as the victory was gained, they accounted their duty, which was to conquer, fulfilled, and many of them ran home to recount their feats, and store up their plunder. In spring and harvest, many were obliged to retire or leave their women and children to die of famine; their chieftains too were apt to separate from the army upon quarrels and points of honour amongst themselves and with others.

SINGULAR ANCIENT CUSTOM EXEMPLIFIED.

First Servant. 'Where's potpan, that he helps not to take away ?
He shift a trencher ! he scrape a trencher !'

SHAKSPEARE, *Romeo and Juliet.*

THE simplicity of remote times may be often adduced as a very curious and striking contrast to the luxury and refinement of the present. 'To scrape a trencher,' in the house of a nobleman, would now have a very uncouth sound ; but in the time of Shakspeare, trenchers were still used by persons of good fashion. In the household book of the Earls of Northumberland, compiled at the beginning of the same century, it appears that they were common to the tables of the first nobility. They were common even in the time of king Charles I. In many public Societies, they continued common much longer, particularly in Colleges and Inns of Court ; and they are still retained in Lincoln's Inn.

CURIOUS PARLIAMENTARY ANECDOTES :

(From '*A history of the Boroughs of Great Britain.*)

IN the pension list of Charles II. it appeared, that Thomas King, Esq. member for Harwich, had a pension of 50*l.* a session, beside meat, drink, and now and then a suit of clothes.

The Bailiff of Stockbridge, who is generally an inn-keeper, is the returning officer at elections ; for it is said, that the inn-keeper, in order to have an opportunity of receiving bribes on that occasion, without being liable to the penalty, has fre-

quently procured one of his own ostlers to be elected bailiff, and has himself carried the mace before him. Sir Richard Steele, who represented this borough in the reign of Queen Anne, carried his election, against a powerful opposition, by the merry expedient of sticking a large apple full of guineas, and declaring that it should be the prize of that man whose wife should be first brought to bed after that day nine months.

Sir Robert Holmes, member for Winchester, in the reign of Charles II., is recorded in the above-mentioned pension list, as 'first an Irish liveryman, then a highwayman, now Bashaw of the Isle of Wight, got, in boons, and by rapine, 100,000*l*. The cursed beginner of the two Dutch wars.

The non-resident freemen of the borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed, living in London, being put on board two vessels in the Thames, immediately previous to the election of 1768, in order to be conveyed to Berwick by water, Mr. Taylor, one of the candidates in opposition, covenanted with the naval commander of this election cargo, for the sum of 400*l*., to land the freemen in Norway. This was accordingly done, and Mr. Taylor and Lord Delaval gained their election without any farther expense.

Old Sarum, in Wilts, and Medhurst, in Sussex, send four members to parliament, although not a single house is within the limits of either. Gatton, in Surrey, is a more illustrious place, for it contains

two houses. Steyning and Bramber, which join each other, and form one street, not more than two-thirds as large as Fetter-lane, send together four representatives to parliament.

To the observations extracted from this work, it may be added, that the right of sending representatives to parliament does not appear to be a very enviable privilege; for, not to mention the riots and tumults, the feuds and animosities, the venality and corruption, and the profligacy and debauchery they often occasion, it is a fact that many a once-flourishing town owes its present state of decay and degradation to the honour of sending representatives to parliament. On the other hand, such of our great towns, as Manchester, Birmingham, &c. that are obliged to be content with being *virtually* represented, have long been in a state of increasing prosperity.

CUSTOM OF HAND-KISSING.

THIS is not only a very ancient and nearly universal custom, but it has alike been participated by religion and society. From the remotest times, men saluted the sun, moon, and stars, by kissing the hand. Job assures us, that he was never given to this superstition, (chap. xxxi. ver. 26.) The same honour was rendered to Baal, (1 Kings xix. 18.) Other instances might be adduced as far as connected with religion.

In Greece all foreign superstitions were received.

Lucian, after having mentioned various sorts of sacrifices which the rich offered the gods, adds, that the poor adored them by the simple compliment of kissing their hands. That author gives an anecdote of Demosthenes, which shews this custom. When a prisoner to the soldiers of Antipater, he asked to enter a temple: when he entered, he touched his mouth with his hands. When Apuleius mentions Psyche, he says, she was so beautiful that they adored her as Venus, in kissing the right hand.

This ceremonial action rendered respectable the earliest institutions of Christianity. It was a custom with the primeval bishops to give their hands to be kissed by the ministers who served at the altar.

This custom, however, as a religious rite, declined with Paganism. In society an ingenious academician considers the custom of *kissing* hands as essential to its welfare. It is a mute form, which expresses reconciliation, which entreats favours, or which thanks for those received; it is an universal language, intelligible without an interpreter, which doubtless preceded writing, and perhaps speech itself.

Solomon says of the flatterers and suppliants of his time, that they ceased not to kiss the hands of their patrons till they had obtained the favours which they had solicited.

In Homer we see Priam kissing the hands and

embracing the knees of Achilles, while he supplicates for the body of Hector.

This custom prevailed in ancient Rome ; but it varied : in the first ages of the Republic it seems to have been only practised by inferiors to their superiors ; equals gave their hands and embraced. In the progress of time, even the soldiers refused to shew this mark of respect to their generals ; and their kissing the hand of Cato when he was obliged to quit them, was regarded as an extraordinary circumstance at a period of such refinement.

The great respect paid to the tribunes, consuls, and dictators, obliged individuals to live with them in a more distant and respectful manner ; and, instead of embracing them, as they did formerly, they considered themselves as fortunate if allowed to kiss their hands.

Under the emperors, kissing hands became an essential duty, even for the great themselves : inferior courtiers were obliged to be content to adore the purple, by kneeling, touching the robe of the emperor with the right hand, and carrying it to the mouth. Even this was thought too free, and at length they saluted the emperor at a distance, by kissing their hands, in the same manner as when they adored the gods.

It is superfluous to trace this custom in every country where it exists : it is practised in every known country in respect to sovereigns and superiors, even amongst the negroes and the inhabit-

ants of the new world. Cortez found it established at Mexico, where more than a thousand lords saluted him in touching the earth with their hands, which they afterwards carried to their mouths.

Then whether the custom of salutation is practised by kissing the hands of others from respect, or in bringing one's own to the mouth, it is of all other customs the most universal. Mr. Morin, a French academician, who has amused himself with collecting several historical notices of this custom, concludes, that this practice is now become too gross a familiarity, and it is considered as a meanness to kiss the hands of those with whom we are in habits of intercourse; and he prettily observes, that this custom would be entirely lost, if *lovers* were not solicitous to preserve it in all its full power.

The ceremonies which attend the *sneezing* of a King of Monomotapa, shew what a national concern may be the sneeze of despotism. Those who are near his person when this happens, salute him in so loud a tone that persons in the anti-chamber hear it, and join in the acclamation, till the noise reaches the street, and becomes propagated through the city; so that at each sneeze of his majesty results a most horrid cry from the salutations of many thousands of his vassals.

When the King of Simaar sneezes, his courtiers immediately turn their backs on him, and give a loud slap on the right thigh.

With the ancients sneezing was ominous ; from the right it was considered auspicious ; and Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, says that, before a naval battle, it was a sign of conquest. Catullus, in his pleasing poem of Acme and Septemus, makes this action for the duty of love from the *left*, the source of his fiction. The passage has been elegantly versified by a particular friend, who finds authority that the gods sneezing on the *right* in *heaven* is supposed to come to us on earth on the *left* :—

Cupid, sneezing in his flight,
Once was heard upon the right,
Bading woe to lovers true ;
But now upon the *left* he flew,
And with sporting *sneeze* divine,
Gave to joy the sacred sign.
Acme bent her lovely face,
Flush'd with rapture's rosy grace,
And those eyes that swam in bliss,
Prest with many a breathing kiss ;
Breathing, murmuring soft and low,
Thus might life for ever flow !
“ Love of my life, and life of love !
Cupid rules our fates above,
Ever let us vow to join
In homage at his happy shrine.”
Cupid heard the lovers true,
Again upon the *left* he flew,
And with sportive sneeze divine,
Renew'd of joy the sacred sign !

Curiosities of Literature.

*Picture of the FRENCH NATION in the fifteenth
Century*.*

The language in this article is modernized, to render it more intelligible.

IN this chapter be shewed the fruits of *Jus Regale* and the fruits of *Jus Politicum* and *Regale* *.

And how so be it, that the French king reigneth upon his people *Dominio reguli*, yet St. Lewis, some time king there, nor any of his progenitors, set never talys or other impositions upon the people of their land without the assent of the three estates, which when they be assembled, are like to the court of parliament in England. And this order kept many of his successors until late days, that Englishmen made such a war in France, that the three estates durst not come together, and then for that cause, and for great necessity which the French King had of goods for the defence of that land, he took upon him to set talys, and other impositions upon the commons, without the assent of the three estates, but yet he would not set any such charges, nor hath set, upon the nobles, for fear of rebellion. And because the commons, though they have grudged, have not rebelled, or be hardy to rebel, the French King hath yearly since set such charges.

* From a treatise by Sir John Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice of England, in the reign of Henry VI., entitled, "The difference between an absolute and a limited monarchy."

upon them, and so augmented the same charges, as the same commons be so impoverished and destroyed, that they may unneth [scarce] live. They may drink water, they eat apples, with bread right brown, made of rye. They eat no flesh, but if it be seldom [except, or unless it be seldom,] a little lard, or of the entrails or heads of beasts slain for the nobles and merchants of the land. They wear no woollen, but if it be a poor coat under their outermost garment, made of great canvass, and call it a frock. Their hose be of like canvass, and passing not the knee, wherefore they gartered and their thighs bare, their wives and children go bare-foot; they may in no otherwise live, for some of them that was wont to pay to his lord for his tene-ment which he hireth for the year a scuti, (a gold crown piece of the value of 3s. 4d.,) payeth now to the king over that scuti, five scutis, where though they be compelled by necessity so to watch, labour, and grub, in the ground for their subsistence, that their nature is much wasted, and the kind of them brought to nought. They are gone crooked and are feeble, not able to fight, nor have they weapon nor money to buy their weapon withal; but verily they live in the most extreme poverty and misery, and yet they dwell in one of the most fertile realms of the world, wherefore the French King hath no men of his own realm, able to defend it, except his nobles, which bear no such imposition, and therefore they are right likely of their bodies; by which

cause the said King is compelled to make his armies for the defence of his land of strangers, as Scots, Spaniards, Arragoners, nor of Almayn, (Germany,) and of other nations; also all his enemys might overrun him; for he hath no defence of his own except his castles and fortresses. Lo, this is the fruit of his *Jus Regale*. If the realm of England, which is an isle, and therefore may not lightly get succors of other lands, were ruled under such a prince, it would conquer, rob, and devour it, which was well proved in the time of the Britons, when the Scots and the Picts so beat and oppressed this land, that the people thereof sought help of the Romans, to whom they had been tributary, and when they could not be defended by them, they sought help of the Duke of Brittang, then called Little Britain; and granted, therefore, to make his brother Constantine their king, and so he was made king here, and reigned many years, and his children, of which Great Arthur was one of their issue. But blessed be God, this land is ruled under a better law, and therefore the people thereof be not in such penury, nor thereby hurt in their persons, but they be wealthy, and have all things necessary for the sustenance of nature. Wherefore they be mighty, and able to resist the adversaries of the realm, and beat other realms, that do or will do them wrong. Lo, this is the fruit of *Jus Politicum et Regale*, under which we live. Some what now I

shewed of the fruits of both laws, *Ut ex fruatibus eorum cognogatis*, &c.

DRESS OF THE ANCIENT FRENCH.

(From *Velley's New History of France*.)

SEGEBERT was buried an. 576, in St. Medard's Church, at Soissons, where his statue is still seen in long clothes, with the mantle which the Romans call *chlamys*. This was the dress of Clovis's children, whether as more noble and majestic, or that they looked on the title of Augustus as hereditary in their family. However it be, long clothes was for several ages the dress of people of distinction, with a border of sable, ermin, or minever. Under Charles V. it was emblazoned with all the pieccs of the coats of arms. At that time neither ruffs, collars, nor bands were known, being introduced by Henry II. Till his time the neck of our kings was always quite bare, except Charles the Wise, who is every where represented with an ermin collar. The short dress, anciently worn only in the country and the camp, came to be the general fashion under Lewis XI., but was laid aside under Lewis XII. Francis I. revived it with the improvement of staches. The favourite dress of Henry II. and his children, was a close light doublet, with trunk hose, and a cloak scarce reaching to the waist.

The dress of the French ladies it may be sup-

posed, had likewise its revolutions. They seem for nine hundred years not to have been much taken up with ornaments. Nothing could require less time or nicety than their head dress, and the disposition of their hair. Every part of their linen was quite plain, but at the same time extremely fine. Laces were long unknown. Their gowns, (on the right side of which was embroidered their husband's coat of arms, and on the left that of their own family,) were so close as to show all the delicacy of their shape, and came up so high as to cover their whole breast up to the neck. The habit of widows had very much the appearance of that of our nuns. It was not till under Charles VI. that they began to expose their shoulders. The gallantry of Charles VII.'s court brought in the use of bracelets, necklaces, and ear-rings. Queen Anne de Bretagne despised those trinkets; and Catherine de Medicis made it her whole business to invent new. Caprice, vanity, luxury, and coquetry, have at length brought them to their present enormity.

*History of the State of MANNERS, FASHIONS, the
 DRAMA, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, &c. during the
 Reigns of CHARLES II. and JAMES II.*

*(From Pepys' Memoirs *.)*

SAMUEL PEPYS, the author of this interesting work, whom, in the course of the following extracts,

* Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary to the Admiralty in the Reigns of Charles II. and James II. ; comprising his Diary from 1659 to 1669. Decyphered by the Rev. J. Smith, from

we shall have frequent occasion to introduce to our readers; was born in 1632, the son of a citizen and tailor of London; of a good family, and probably originally from Scotland. He was educated at St. Paul's School and Cambridge, married very young, and became a protégé of his relative Sir E. Montagu, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Sandwich. He appears to have been a very drudge in his official appointments, and rose to value by his application to business, and comparative purity of manners—for in those days the most honest men in office seem to have had a less correct notion of integrity than the meanest have now. In private he acts with much simplicity, and might well be esteemed a worthy fellow, though he does not neglect his own advancement, nor shun (after he acquires fortune) the pleasures which surround him. He had at last a seat in Parliament, was two years President of the Royal Society, and on the accession of William and Mary, retired from the bustle and fatigue of public affairs. He died at Clapham in 1703, and was buried in St. Olave's, Hart-street. The station he held gave him access to the most interesting intelligence of the time in which he lived, which was of peculiar variety. His diary, which was never intended for any eye but that of the writer, being kept in short-hand, only legible to himself, and finally, the entries convey so truly the

the original short-hand MS. in the Pepysian Library. And a Selection from his Private Correspondence. Edited by Lord Braybrooke. 2 vols. 4to. London, 1825. Colburn.

impressions of the moment, that many of them, at a week or months distance of time apart, perpetuate opinions and facts widely differing from those first felt or believed; conveying a perfect idea of the profligate court of Charles, and the minions of that dissolute monarch; with, in fact, such a sketch of life and manners, a century and a half ago, which it is not unpleasing to examine and reflect upon.

In the following interesting extracts from the work before us, which contains matter enough to enrich a work of much greater magnitude, we have endeavoured to class our extracts from the diary under several heads—such as history, manners, fashions, the drama, literature, science, anecdote, &c.; and we confess, so attractive are they all, that we hardly know how or where to begin. The precedence, perhaps, is due to the more general topics; we therefore commence with them, being aware that they also incidentally include much which might be otherwise classed. So let us *to dinner*, “with what appetite we may.”

“Jan. 1659-60.—Home from my office to my Lord’s lodgings, where my wife had got ready a very fine dinner—*viz.* a dish of marrow bones, a leg of mutton; a loin of veal; a dish of fowl, three pullets, and a dozen of larks all in a dish; a great tart, a neat’s tongue, a dish of anchovies; a dish of prawns and cheese. My company was my father, my uncle Fenner, his two sons, Mr. Pierce, and all their wives, and my brother Tom.

“The news of this day is a letter that speaks absolutely Monk's concurrence with this Parliament, and nothing else, which yet I hardly believe.

“Feb. 2. I this day left off my great skirt suit, and put on my white suit with silver-lace coat, and went over to Harper's, where I met with W. Simons, Doling, Luellin, and three merchants, one of which had occasion to use a porter, so they sent for one, and James the soldier came, who told us how they had been all day and night upon their guard at St. James's, and that through the whole town they did resolve to stand to what they had began, and that to-morrow he did believe they would go into the City, and be received there. After this we went to a sport called, selling of a horse for a dish of eggs and herrings, and sat talking there till almost twelve at night.”

Within a few days, Monk entered the metropolis, and the restoration became certain.

Public rejoicings at the Restoration, &c.

“We were told that the Parliament had sent Scott and Robinson to Monk this afternoon, but he would not hear them. And that the Mayor and Aldermen had offered their own houses for himself and his officers; and that his soldiers would lack for nothing. And indeed I saw many people give the soldiers drink and money, and all along the streets cried ‘God bless them,’ and extraordinary good words. Hence we went to a merchant's

house hard by, where I saw Sir Nich. Chrisp, and so we went to the Star Tavern, (Monk being then at Benson's.) In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in the churches as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was every where to be seen ! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires. In King-street, seven or eight ; and all along burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the May Pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of a spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot, that we were fain to keep on the farther side."

Lord Sandwich brought the King over ; and how was he amused the first or second evening after his arrival in London ?—

" April 23d. In the evening, for the first time, extraordinary good sport among the seamen, after my Lord had done playing at nine pins !"

The details respecting the King are (though we pass them for the nonce,) highly curious.

The manners of the period, &c.

“July 8th, (Lord's day.) To White Hall chapel, where I got in with ease by going before the Lord Chancellor with Mr. Kipps. Here I heard very good musique, the first time that ever I remember to have heard the organs and singing-men in surplices in my life. The Bishop of Chichester preached before the King, and made a great flattering sermon, which I did not like that the Clergy should meddle with matters of state. Dined with Mr. Luellin and Salisbury at a cook's shop. Home, and staid all the afternoon with my wife till after sermon. There till Mr. Fairebrother come to call us out to my father's to supper. He told me how he had perfectly procured me to be Master of Arts by proxy, which did somewhat please me, though I remember my cousin Roger Pepys was the other day persuading me from it.

“10th. This day I put on my new silk suit, the first that ever I wore in my life. Home, and called my wife, and took her to Clodins's to a great wedding of Nan Hartlib to Mynheer Roder, which was kept at Goring-House with very great state, cost, and noble company. But among all the beauties there, my wife was thought the greatest. And finding my Lord in White Hall garden, I got him to go to the Secretary's, which he did, and desired the dispatch of his and my bills to be signed by the King. His bill is to be Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Hitchingbrooke, and Baron of St. Neot's. Home, with my

mind pretty quiet; not returning, as I said I would, to see the bride put to bed.

“Oct. 7th, (Lord's day.) To White Hall on foot, calling at my father's to change my long black cloake for a short one (long cloakes being now quite out;) but he being gone to church, I could not get one. I heard Dr. Spurstow preach before the King a poor dry sermon; but a very good anthem of Capt'n. Cooke's afterwards. To my Lord's and dined with him; he all dinner-time talking French to me, and telling me the story how the Duke of York had got the Lord Chancellor's daughter with child, and that she do lay it to him, and that for certain he did promise her marriage, and had signed it with his blood, but that he by stealth had got the paper out of her cabinet. And that the King would have him to marry her, but that he will not. So that the thing is very bad for the Duke, and them all; but my Lord do make light of it, as a thing that he believes is not a new thing for the Duke to do abroad.” [The lady became Duchess of York.]

Execution of Major-General Harrison, &c.

“13th. I went out to Charing Cross, to see Major-general Harrison * hanged, drawn, and quartered; which was done there, he looking as

* “Thomas Harrison, son of a butcher at Newcastle-under-Line, appointed by Cromwell to convey Charles I. from Windsor to Whitehall, in order to his trial, and afterwards sat as one of his judges.”

cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down, and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy. It is said, that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ, to judge them that now had judged him; and that his wife do expect his coming again. Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at White Hall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the King at Charing Cross.

“14th. To White Hall chappell, where one Dr. Crofts made an indifferent sermon, and after it an anthem, ill sung, which made the King laugh. Here I first did see the Princesse Royall since she came into England. Here I also observed how the Duke of York and Mrs. Palmer did talk to one another very wantonly through the hangings that parts the King's closet and the closet where the ladies sit.

“24th. To Mr. Lilly's with Mr. Spong, where well received, there being a club to-night among his friends. Among the rest Esquire Ashmole, the antiquarian, who I found was a very ingenious gentleman. With him we two sang afterward in Mr. Lilly's study. That done, we all parted; and I home by coach, taking Mr. Rooker with me, who did tell me a great many fooleries, which may be done by nativities, and blaming Mr. Lilly for writing to please his friends and to keep in with the

times, (as he did formerly to his own dishonour,) and not according to the rules of art, by which he could not well erre, as he had done.

“ 26th. By Westminster to White Hall, where I saw the Duke de Soissons go from his audience with a very great deal of state : his own coach all red velvet covered with gold lace, and drawn by six barbes, and attended by twenty pages very rich in clothes. To Westminster Hall, and bought, among other books, one of the Life of our Queen, which I read at home to my wife ; but it was so sillily writ, that we did nothing but laugh at it : among other things it is dedicated to that paragon of virtue and beauty, the Duchess of Albemarle. Great talk as if the Duke of York do now own the marriage between him and the Chancellor's daughter.

“ November 1st. This morning Sir W. Penn and I were mounted early, and had very merry discourse all the way, he being very good company. We come to Sir W. Batten's, where he lives like a prince, and we were made very welcome. Among other things he shewed me my Lady's closet, wherein was large stores of rarities ; as also a large chair, which he calls King Harry's chair, where he that sits down is catched with two irons, that come round about him, which makes good sport. Here dined with us two or three more country-gentlemen ; among the rest Mr. Christmas, my old school-fellow, with whom I had much talk. He did remem-

ber that I was a great Roundhead when I was a boy, and I was much afraid that he would have remembered the words that I said the day the King was beheaded, (that, were I to preach upon him, my text should be—'The memory of the wicked shall rot;') but I found afterwards that he did not go away from school before that time.

"7th. Notwithstanding this was the first day of the King's proclamation against hackney coaches coming into the streets to stand to be hired, yet I got one to carry me home.

Singular Proclamation, &c.

"December 4th. This day the Parliament voted that the bodies of Oliver, Ireton, Bradshaw, &c. should be taken out of their graves in the Abbey, and drawn to the gallows, and there hanged and buried under it: which, (methinks) do trouble me that a man of so great courage as he was, should have that dishonour, though otherwise he might deserve it enough.

Extraordinary mild Winter, &c.

"Jan. 21st, 1661. It is strange what weather we have had all this winter; no cold at all; but the ways are dusty, and the flies fly up and down, and the rose-bushes are full of leaves, such a time of the year as was never known in this world before here. This day many more of the Fifth Monarchy men were hanged.

"22d. I met with Dr. Thomas Fuller. He tells

me of his last and great book that is coming out : that is, the History of all the Families in England ; and could tell me more of my own than I knew myself. And also to what perfection he hath now brought the art of memory ; that he did lately to four eminently great scholars, dictate together in Latin, upon different subjects of their proposing, faster than they were able to write, till they were tired ; and that the best way of beginning a sentence, if a man should be out and forget his last sentence, (which he never was,) that then his last refuge is to begin with an *Utcunque*.

“ 30th. To my Lady Batten’s ; where my wife and she are lately come back again from being abroad, and seeing of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw hanged and buried at Tyburne.

“ Feb. 5th. Into the Hall ; and there saw my Lord Treasurer, (who was sworn to-day at the Exchequer, with a great company of Lords and persons of honour to attend him,) go up to the Treasury Offices, and take possession thereof ; and also saw the heads of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, set up at the further end of the Hall.

“ April 2d. To St. James’s Park, where I saw the Duke of York playing at Pelemele, the first time that ever I saw the sport. Then to the Dolphin to Sir W. Batten, and Penn, and other company ; among others, Mr. Delabar ; where strange how these men, who at other times are all wise men, do now, in their drink, betwitt, and reproach

one another with their former conditions, and their actions as in public concerns, till I was ashamed to see it.

Ceremony of Creating Earls, &c.

“ 20th. Comes my boy to tell me that the Duke of York had sent for all the principal officers, &c. to come to him to-day. So I went by water to Mr. Coventry's, and there staid and talked a good while with him till all the rest come. We went up and saw the Duke dress himself, and in his night habitt he is a very plain man. Then he sent us to his closett, where we saw among other things two very fine chests, covered with gold and Indian varnish, given him by the East India Company of Holland. The Duke comes ; and after he had told us that the fleet was designed for Algier (which was kept from us till now,) we did advise about many things as to the fitting of the fleet, and so went away to White Hall ; and in the Banqueting-house saw the King create my Lord Chancellor, and several others, Earles, and Mr. Crewe, and several others, Barons: the first being led up by Heralds and five old Earles to the King, and there the patent is read, and the King puts on his vest, and sword, and coronett, and gives him the patent. And then he kisseth the King's hand, and rises and stands covered before the King. And the same for each Baron, only he is led up by three of the old Barons. And they are girt with swords before they go to the King. To the Cockpitt ; and there, by the

favour of one Mr. Bowman, he and I got in, and there saw the King and Duke of York, and his Duchesse, (which is a plain woman, and like her mother, my Lady Chancellor.) And so saw 'The Humersome Lieutenant' acted before the King, but not very well done. But my pleasure was great to see the manner of it, and so many great beauties, but above all Mrs. Palmer, with whom the King do discover a great deal of familiarity."

On the day of the King's proclamation, we have the following among other singular traits, &c.

At Mr. Bower's ; a great deal of company, some I knew, others I did not. Here we staid upon the leads and below till it was late, expecting to see the fire-works, but they were not performed to-night : only the city had a light like a glory round about it with bonfires. At last I went to King-streete, and there sent Crockford to my father's and my house, to tell them I could not come home to-night, because of the dirt, and a coach could not be had. And so I took my wife and Mrs. Frankleyn, (who I proferred the civility of lying with my wife at Mrs. Hunt's to-night,) to Axe-yard, in which at the further end were three great bonfires, and a great many great gallants, men and women ; and they laid hold of us, and would have us drink the King's health upon our knees, kneeling upon a faggot, which we all did, they drinking to us one after another. Which we thought a strange frolique ; but these gallants continued there a great while,

and I wondered to see how the ladies did tipple. At last I sent my wife and her bed-fellow to bed, and Mr. Hunt and I went in with Mr. Thornbury (who did give the company all their wine, he being yeoman of the wine-cellar to the King ;) and there, with his wife and two of his sisters, and some gallant sparks that were there, we drank the King's health, and nothing else, till one of the gentlemen fell down stark drunk, and there lay ; and I went to my Lord's pretty well."

Our Author now takes a trip into the country, and these extracts will illustrate the travels of 1661.

" April 30th. This morning my wife and I and Mr. Creed, took coach, and in Fish-street took up Mr. Hater and his wife, who through her maske seemed at first to be an old woman, but afterwards I found her to be a very pretty modest black woman. We got a small bait at Leatherhead, and so to Godlyman, where we lay all night. I am sorry that I am not at London, to be at Hide-park to-morrow, among the great gallants and ladies, which will be very fine.

" May 1st. Up early, and baited at Petersfield, in the room which the King lay in lately at his being there. Here very merry, and played with our wives at bowles. Then we set forth again, and so to Portsmouth, seeming to me to be a very pleasant and strong place ; and we lay at the Red Lyon, where Haselrigge and Scott, and Walton, did hold

their councill, when they were here, against Lambert and the Committee of Safety.

“ 2d. To see the room where the Duke of Buckingham was killed by Felton.

“ 6th. I hear to-night that the Duke of York’s son is this day dead, which I believe will please every body ; and I hear that the Duke and his Lady themselves are not much troubled at it.”

Death and Funeral of Pepys’ Uncle.

“ Waked this morning with news, brought me by a messenger on purpose, that my uncle Robert is dead ; so I set out on horseback, and got well by nine o’clock to Brampton, where I found my father well. My uncle’s corpse in a coffin standing upon joynt-stooles in the chimney in the hall ; but it begun to smell, and so I caused it to be set forth in the yard all night, and watched by my aunt.

“ 7th. Lord’s day. In the morning my father and I read the will, where, though he gives me nothing at present till my father’s death, or at least very little, yet I am glad to see that he hath done so well for us all, and well to the rest of his kindred. After that done, we went about getting things, as ribbands and gloves, ready for the burial. Which in the afternoon was done ; where it being Sunday, all people far and near come in ; and in the greatest disorder that ever I saw, we made shift to serve them with what we had of wine and other things ; and then to carry him to the church, where

Mr. Taylor buried him, and Mr. Turner preached a funerall sermon.

“ 4th. To church, and had a good plain sermon. At our coming in, the country-people all rose with so much reverence; and when the parson begins, he begins, ‘ Right worshipfull and dearly beloved’ to us. To church again, and after supper, to talk about publique matters, wherein Roger Pepys told me how basely things have been carried in parliament by the young men, that did labour to oppose all things that were moved by serious men. That they are the most profane swearing fellows that ever he heard in his life, which makes him think that they will spoil all, and bring things into a warr again if they can.”

Again in town.

“ Sept. 7th. Having appointed the young ladies at the wardrobe to go with them to the play to-day, my wife and I took them to the theatre, where we seated ourselves close by the King, and duke of York, and Madame Palmer, which was great content; and, indeed, I can never enough admire her beauty. And here was ‘ Bartholomew Fayre’ with the puppet shewe, acted to-day, which had not been these forty years, (it being so satyricall against puritanism, they durst not till now, which is strange they should already dare to do it, and the King do countenance it,) but I do never a whit like it the better for the puppets, but rather the worse.

Thence home with the ladies, it being by reason of our staying a great while for the King's coming, and the length of the play, near nine o'clock before it was done.

“ 11th. To Dr. Williams, who did carry me into his garden, where he hath abundance of grapes ; and he did show me how a dog that he hath do kill all the cats that come thither to kill his pigeons, and do afterwards bury them ; and do it with so much care, that they shall be quite covered ; that if the tip of the tail hangs out, he will take up the cat again, and dig the hole deeper. Which is very strange ; and he tells me, that he do believe that he hath killed above 100 cats.

“ At noon to my Lord Crewe's, where one Mr. Templer (an ingenious man and a person of honour he seems to be) dined ; and, discoursing of the nature of serpents, he told us some in the waste places of Lancashire do grow to a great bigness, and do feed upon larkes, which they take thus :— They observe when the lark is soared to the highest, and do crawl till they come to be just underneath them : and there they place themselves with their mouth uppermost, and there, as is conceived, they do eject poyson upon the bird ; for the bird so suddenly come down again in its course of a circle, and falls directly into the mouth of the serpent ; which is very strange. He is a great traveller ; and, speaking of the tarantula, he says, that all the harvest long (about which times they are most

busy) there are fiddlers go up and down, in the fields every where, in expectation of being hired by those that are stung.

This is not the only traveller's story.

“To Greenwich; and had a fine pleasant walk to Woolwich, having in our company Captain Minnes, whom I was much pleased to hear talk. Among other things, he and the captains that were with us tell me that negroes drowned look white, and lose their blackness, which I never heard before.

“Home to dinner. In the afternoon come the German Dr. Knuffler, to discourse with us about his engine to blow up ships. We doubted not the matter of fact, it being tried in Cromwell's time, but the safety of carrying them in ships; but he do tell us, that when he comes to tell the king his secret, (for none but the kings, successively, and their heirs, must know it,) it will appear to be of no danger at all. We concluded nothing; but shall discourse with the duke of York to-morrow about it.

The Court, &c.

1662—“Sept. 17th. Meeting Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, he took me into Somersett House; and there carried me into the queene-mother's presence-chamber, where she was with our own Queene sitting on her left hand (whom I did never see before;) and though she be not very charming, yet she hath a good, modest, and innocent look,

which is pleasing. Here I also saw Madam Castlemaine, and, which pleased me most, Mr. Crofts, the king's bastard, a most pretty sparke of about 15 years old, who, I perceive, do hang much upon my Lady Castlemaine, and is always with her; and, I hear, the queenes both are mighty kind to him. By and by in comes the king, and anon the duke and his duchesse; so that, they being all together, was such a sight as I never could almost have happened to see with so much ease and leisure. They staid till it was dark, and then went away; the king and his queene, and my Lady Castlemaine and young Crofts, in one coach, and the rest in other coaches. Here were great stores of great ladies, but very few handsome. The king and queene were very merry; and he would have made the queene-mother believe that his queene was with child, and said that she said so. And the young queene answered, 'You lye;' which was the first English word that I ever heard her say: which made the king good sport; and he would have made her say in English, 'Confess and be hanged.'

“Christmas day. Had a pleasant walk to Whitehall, where I intended to have received the communion with the family, but I come a little too late. So I walked up into the house and spent my time looking over pictures, particularly the ships in king Henry the VIIIth's voyage to Bullaen; marking the great difference between

those built then and now. By and by down to the chapel again, where Bishop Morley preached upon the song of the Angels, 'Glory to God on high, on earth peace, and good-will towards men.' Methought he made but a poor sermon, but long, and reprehending the common jollity of the court for the true joy that shall and ought to be on these days. Particularized concerning their excess in playes and gaming, saying that he whose office it is to keep the gamesters in order and within bounds, serves but for a second rather in a duell, meaning the groome-porter. Upon which it was worth observing how far they are come from taking the reprehensions of a bishop seriously, that they all laugh in the chapel when he reflected on their ill actions and courses.

"Dec. 31st. Public matters stand thus : the king is bringing, as is said, his family, and navy, and all other his charges, to a less expence. In the meantime, himself following his pleasures more than with good advice he would do ; at least, to be seen to all the world to do so. His dalliance with my Lady Castlemaine being publick, every day to his great reproach ; and his favouring of none at court so much as those that are the confidants of his pleasure, as Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Barkely, which, good God ! put it into his heart to mend, before he makes himself too much contemned by his people for it ! The duke of Monmouth is in so great splendour at court, and so dandled by the

king, that some doubt, that, if the king should have no child by the queene (which there is yet no appearance of,) whether he would not be acknowledged for a lawful son ; and that there will be a difference follow between the duke of York and him ; which God prevent ! My lord chancellor is threatened by people to be questioned, the next sitting of the parliament, by some spirits that do not love to see him so great : but certainly he is a good servant to the king. The queene-mother is said to keep too great a court now ; and her being married to my lord St. Alban's is commonly talked of ; and that they had a daughter between them in France, how true, God knows. The bishops are high, and go on without any diffidence in pressing uniformity ; and the presbyters seem silent in it, and either conform or lay down, though without doubt they expect a turn, and would be glad these endeavours of the other Fanatiques would take effect ; there having been a plot lately found, for which four have been publickly tried at the Old Bayley and hanged."

May, 1663. " After dinner, I went up to Sir Thomas Crewe, who lies there not very well in his head, being troubled with vapours and fits of dizziness ; and there I sat talking with him all the afternoon upon the unhappy posture of things at this time ; that the king do mind nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business. If any of the sober counsellors give him good

advice, and move him in any thing to his good and honour, the other part which are his counsellors of pleasure, take him when he is with my Lady Castlemaine, and in a humour of delight, and then persuade him that he ought not to hear nor listen to the advice of those old dotards or counsellors that were heretofore his enemies : when, God knows ! it is they that now-a-days do most study his honour."

The following are of a more miscellaneous cast :

"To the Trinity House ; where, among others, I found my Lords Sandwich and Craven, and my cousin Roger Pepys, and Sir Wm. Wheeler. Both at and after dinner we had great discourses of the nature and power of spirits, and whether they can animate dead bodies ; in all which, as of the general appearance of spirits, my Lord Sandwich is very scepticall. He says the greatest warrants that ever he had to believe any, is the present appearing of the Devil in Wiltshire, much of late talked of, who beats a drum up and down. There are books of it, and they say very true ; but my Lord observes, that though he do answer to any tune that you will play to him upon another drum, yet one time he tried to play and could not ; which makes him suspect the whole ; and I think it is a good argument.

"To the King's Head ordinary ; and a pretty gentleman in our company, who confirms my Lady Castlemaine's being gone from court, but knows

not the reason, he told us of one wipe the queene a little while ago did give her, when she come in and found the queene under the dresser's hands, and had been so long : ' I wonder your majesty, says she, ' can have the patience to sit so long a dressing ? '—' I have so much reason to use patience,' says the queene, ' that I can very well bear with it.' He thinks it may be the queene hath commanded her to retire, though that is not likely.

" This noon going to the Exchange, I met a fine fellow with trumpets before him in Leadenhall-street, and upon enquiry I find that he is the clerke of the city market ; and three or four men carried each of them an arrow of a pound weight in their hands. It seems this Lord Mayor, Sir John Frederic, begins again an old custome, that upon the three first days of Bartholomew fayre, the first, there is a match of wrestling, which was done, and the lord mayor there and aldermen in Moorfields yesterday : second day, shooting : and to-morrow, hunting. And this officer of course is to perform this ceremony of riding through the city, I think to proclaim or challenge any to shoot. It seems the people of the faire cry out upon it as a great hindrance to them.

" Feb. 1st. 1664. I hear how two men last night, justling for the wall about the new Exchange, did kill one another, each thrusting the other through ; one of them of the king's chapel, one Cave, and the other a retainer of my Lord

Generall Middleton's. Thence to White Hall, where, in the duke's chamber, the king come and stayed an hour or two laughing at Sir. W. Petty, who was there about his boat; and at Gresham college in general: at which poor Petty was, I perceive, at some loss; but did argue discreetly, and bear the unreasonable follies of the king's objections and other bystanders with great discretion; and did offer to take oddes against the king's best boates; but the king would not lay, but cried him down with words only. Gresham college he mightily laughed at, for spending time only in weighing of ayre, and doing nothing else since they sat. Mr. Pierce tells me, how the king, coming the other day to his theatre, to see 'The Indian queene,' (which he commends for a very fine thing,) my Lady Castlemaine was in the next box before he came; and leaning over other ladies awhile to whisper with the king, she rose out of the box and went into the king's, and set herself on the king's right hand, between the king and the duke of York; which, he swears, put the king himself, as well as every body else, out of countenance; and believes that she did it only to shew the world that she is not out of favour yet, as was believed."

Anecdotes of the celebrated Nel Gwyn, &c.

" July 13, 1667. Mr. Pierce tells us what troubles me, that my lord Buckhurst hath got Nell away from the king's house, and gives her 100*l.* a-year, so as she hath sent her parts to the house, and will

act no more. And yesterday Sir Thomas Crewe told me, that Lacy lies a-dying ; nor will receive any ghostly advice from a bishop, an old acquaintance of his, that went to see him. It is an odd and sad thing to say, that though this be a peace worse than we had before, yet every body's fear almost is, that the Dutch will not stand by their promise, now the king hath consented to all they would have. And yet no wise man that I meet with, when he comes to think of it, but wishes with all his heart a war ; but that the king is not a man to be trusted with the management of it. It was pleasantly said by a man in this city, a stranger, to one that told him the peace was concluded : ' Well,' says he, ' and have you a peace ?' ' Yes,' says the other. ' Why then,' says he, ' hold your peace !' Partly reproaching us with the disgracefulness of it, that it is not fit to be mentioned ; and next, that we are not able to make the Dutch keep it, when they have a mind to break it.

" 14th. To Epsom, by eight o'clock, to the well ; where much company. And to the town to the King's Head ; and hear that my Lord Buckhurst and Nelly are lodged at the next house, and Sir Charles Sedley with them : and keep a merry house. Poor girl ! I pity her ; but more the loss of her at the king's house.

" August 22d. With my Lord Broucher and his mistress to the king's play-house, and there saw ' The Indian Emperour : ' where I find Nell

come again, which I am glad of ; but was most infinitely displeased with her being put to act the emperour's daughter, which is a great and serious part, which she does most basely.

“ 26th. Sir W. Pen had a great deal of discourse with Mall, who tells us that Nell is already left by my Lord Buckhurst, and that he makes sport of her, and swears she hath had all she could get of him ; and Hart her great admirer now hates her ; and that she is very poor, and hath lost my Lady Castlemaine, who was her great friend, also : but she is come to the playhouse, but is neglected by them all.

“ October 5th. To the king's house ; and there going in met with Knipp, and she took us up into the tireing-rooms ; and to the woman's shift, where Nell was dressing herself, and was all unready, and is very pretty, prettier than I thought. And into the scene room, and there sat down, and she gave us fruit : and here I read the questions to Knipp, while she answered me through all her part of ‘ Flora's Figarys,’ which was acted to day. But, Lord ! to see how they were both painted, would make a man mad, and did make me loathe them : and what base company of men comes among them, and how lewdly they talk ! And how poor the men are in clothes, and yet what a shew they make on the stage by candle-light is very observable. But to see how Nell cursed, for having so few people in the pit was strange ; the other house

carrying away all the people at the new play, and is said now-a-days to have generally most company, as being better players. By and by into the pit, and there saw the play, which is pretty good.

“ 26th. Mrs. Pierce tells me, that the two marshalls at the king’s house, are Stephen Marshall’s the great presbyterian’s daughters : and that Nelly and Beck Marshall falling out the other day, the latter called the other my Lord Buckhurst’s mistress. Nell answered her, ‘ I was but one man’s mistress, though I was brought up in a brothel to fill strong water to the gentlemen ; and you are a mistress to three or four, though a presbyter’s praying daughter ! ’ ”

May 1661, the author meets a person of considerable celebrity, which is thus related :—

“ 23d. In my black silk suit (the first day I have put it on this year) to my Lord Mayor’s by coach, with a great deal of honourable company, and great entertainment. At table I had very good discourse with Mr. Ashmole, wherein he did assure me that frogs and many insects do often fall from the sky, ready formed. Dr. Bates’s singularity in not rising up nor drinking the king’s nor other healths at the table was very much observed. - - -

- - - “ This day was kept a holy-day through the towne ; and it pleased me to see the little boys walk up and down in procession with their broom-staffs in their hands, as I had myself long ago done.”

Literature of the age.—Amusing entries respecting the famous poem of Hudibras.*

“ Dec. 26, 1662. To the Wardrobe. Hither come Mr. Battersby ; and we falling into discourse of a new book of drollery in use, called Hudibras, I would needs go to find it out, and met with it at the Temple : cost me 2s. 6d. But when I come to read it, it is so silly an abuse of the Presbyter Knight going to the warrs, that I am ashamed of it ; and by and by meeting at Mr. Townshend's at dinner, I sold it to him for 18d.

“ Feb. 1662-3. To Lincoln's Inn Fields ; and it being too soon to go to dinner, I walked up and down, and looked upon the outside of the new theatre building in Covent Garden, which will be very fine. And so to a bookseller's in the Strand, and there bought Hudibras again, it being certainly some ill humour to be so against that which all the world cries up to be the example of wit ; for which I am resolved once more to read him, and see whether I can find it or no.

“ Nov. 28, 1663. To Paul's Church Yard, and there looked upon the second part of Hudibras, which I buy not, but borrow to read, to see if it be as

* In 1668, Mr. Pepys meets Butler personally, and thus states it :—“ Come Mr. Cooper, Hales, Harris, Mr. Butler, that wrote Hudibras, and Mr. Cooper's cosen Jacke ; and by and by come Mr. Reeves and his wife, whom I never saw before. And there we dined : a good dinner, and company that pleased me mightily, being all eminent men in their way. Spent all the afternoon in talk and mirth, and in the evening parted.”

good as the first, which the world cried so mightily up, though it hath not a good liking in me, though I had tried but twice or three times reading to bring myself to think it witty.

“ Dec. 10. To St. Paul’s Church Yard, to my bookseller’s, and could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale’s History of Paul’s, Stow’s London, Gesner, History of Trent, besides Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont’s plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller’s Worthys, the Cabbala or Collections of Letters of State, and a little book, *Delices de Hollande*, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure; and *Hudibras*, both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies. My mind being thus settled, I went by link home, and so to my office, and to read in Rushworth; and so home to supper and to-bed. Calling at Wotton’s, my shoe-maker’s, to-day, he tells me that Sir H. Wright is dying; and that Harris is to come to the Duke’s house again; and of a rare play to be acted this week of Sir William Davenant’s. The story of Henry the Eighth with all his wives.”

The annexed, we presume, may also be placed among the *literature* of the age. Leaving of the year 1664, the author records:—

“ This Christmas I judged it fit to look over all my papers and books; and to tear all that I found

either boyish or not to be worth keeping, or fit to be seen, if it should please God to take me away suddenly. Among others, I found these two or three notes, which I thought fit to keep.

“ CHARMES.

For Stenching of Blood.

Sanguis mane in te,
Sicut Christus fuit in se,
Sanguis mane in tuâ venâ,
Sicut Christus in suâ pœnâ ;
Sanguis mane fixus,
Sicut Christus, quando fuit crucifixus.

2. *A Thorne.*

Jesus, that was of a Virgin born,
Was pricked both with nail and thorn ;
It neither wealed, nor belled, rankled nor boned ;
In the name of Jesus no more shall this.

Or thus :—

Christ was of a Virgin born,
And he was pricked with a thorn ;
And it did neither bell, nor swell ;
And I trust in Jesus this never will.

3. *A Cramp.*

Cramp be thou faintless,
As our Lady was sinless,
When she bare Jesus.

4. *A Burning.*

There came three Angells out of the East ;
The one brought fire, the other brought frost—
Out fire ; in frost.
In the name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost.

Amen.”

Of a piece with these *charmes*, is a notice of the celebrated Sir W. Petty:—

“ Sir William Petty did tell me that in good earnest he hath in his will left some parts of his estate to him that could invent such and such things. As among others, that could discover truly the way of milk coming into the breasts of woman; and he that could invent proper characters to express to another the mixture of relishes and tastes. And says, that to him that invents gold, he gives nothing for the philosopher’s stone; for (says he) they that find out that, will be able to pay themselves. But, says he, by this means it is better than to go to a lecture; for here my executors, that must part with this, will be sure to be well convinced of the invention before they do part with their money.”

Another celebrated literary person is, among several other memoranda, thus spoken of:—

“ Nov. 5th, 1665. By water to Deptford, and there made a visit to Mr. Evelyn, who, among other things, showed me most excellent painting in little; in distemper, Indian incke, water colours: graveing; and, above all, the whole secret of mezzo-tinto, and the manner of it, which is very pretty, and good things done with it. He read to me very much also of his discourse, he hath been many years and now is about, Gardenage; which will be a most noble and pleasant piece. He read me a part of a play or two of his making, very

good, but not as he conceits them, I think, to be. He showed me his Hortus Hyemalis: leaves laid up in a book of several plants kept dry, which preserve colour, however, and look very finely, better than an herball. In fine, a most excellent person he is, and must be allowed a little for a little conceitedness; but he may well be so, being a man so much above others. He read me, though with too much gusto, some little poems of his own that were not transcendant, yet one or two very pretty epigrams; among others, of a lady looking in at a grate, and being pecked at by an eagle that was there.

“ 24th. Visited Mr. Evelyn, where most excellent discourse with him; among other things he showed me a lieger of the Treasurer of the Navy, his great grandfather, just 100 years old; which I seemed mighty fond of, and he did present me with it, which I take as a great rarity; and he hopes to find me more, older than it. He also showed me several letters of the old Lord of Leicester's, in Queen Elizabeth's time, under the very handwriting of Queen Elizabeth, and Queen Mary, Queen of Scots; and others, very venerable names. But, Lord! how poorly, methinks, they wrote in those days, and in what plain uncut paper.”

After all, however, the literature mentioned by Pepys does not bear a proportion to other subjects, but may be called scanty: we can add but few more instances:—

“ 1667, Aug. 10th. Sir John Denham's Poems

are going to be all printed together; and, among others, some new things; and among them he showed me a copy of verses of his upon Sir John Minnes's going heretofore to Bullogne to eat a pig. Cowly, he tells me, is dead; who, it seems, was a mighty civil, serious man; which I did not know before.

“ 12th. To my bookseller's, and did buy Scott's Discourse of Witches; and do hear Mr. Cowly mightily lamented (his death) by Dr. Ward, the Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Bates, who were standing there, as the best poet of our nation, and as good a man.

“ 1667-8. Jan. 1st. Dined with my Lord Crewe, with whom was Mr. Browne, Clerk of the House of Lords, and Mr. John Crewe. Here was mighty good discourse, as there is always: and among other things my Lord Crewe did turn to a place in the Life of Sir Philip Sidney, wrote by Sir Fulke Greville, which do foretell the present condition of this nation, in relation to the Dutch, to the very degree of a prophecy; and is so remarkable that I am resolved to buy one of them, it being quite through a good discourse:

“ March 18th. In favour to my eyes staid at home reading the ridiculous History of my Lord Newcastle, wrote by his wife: which shows her to be a mad, conceited, and ridiculous woman, and he an asse to suffer her to write what she writes to him and of him.”

In June, Mr. Pepys is on an excursion through Wilts and Somersetshire, and he tells us, at Bath, that he “took coach, and away without any of the company of the other stage-coaches that go out of this town to-day; and rode all day with some trouble, for fear of being out of our way, over the Downes (where the life of the shepherds is, in fair weather only, pretty.) In the afternoon come to Abury; where seeing great stones like those of Stonehenge standing up, I stopped and took a countryman of that town, and he carried me and showed me a place trenched in, like Old Sarum almost, with great stones pitched in it, some bigger than those at Stonehenge in figure, to my great admiration: and he told me that most people of learning coming by do come and view them, and that the King did so: and the mount cast hard by is called Selbury, from one King Seall buried there, as tradition says. I did give this man 1s. So took coach again, seeing one place with great high stones pitched round, which I believe was once some particular building, in some measure like that of Stonehenge. But, about a mile off, it was prodigious to see how full the Downes are of great stones; and all along the vallies stones of considerable bigness, most of them growing certainly out of the ground, so thick as to cover the ground; which makes me think the less of the wonder of Stonehenge, for hence they might undoubtedly supply themselves with stones, as well as those at

Abury. In my way did give to the poor and menders of the highway 3s. Before night come to Marlborough, and lay at the Hart; a good house, and a pretty fair town for a street or two; and what is most singular is, their houses on one side having their pent-houses supported with pillars, which makes it a good walk. All the five coaches that come this day from Bath, as well as we, were gone out of the town before six.

“ Sept. 1668. To my bookseller's for ‘Hobbs' Leviathan,’ which is now mightily called for; and what was heretofore sold for 8s. I now give 24s. at the second hand, and is sold for 30s. it being a book the bishops will not let be printed again.”

Theatricals, &c.

Mr. Pepys, it appears, was a great play-goer, and his remarks on the first nights of plays, which now constitute our ancient drama, will be read with much interest; they also incidentally serve happily to illustrate the manners of the times:—

“ 1660. August 18th. Captain Ferrers took me and Creed to the Cockpitt play, the first that I have had time to see since my coming from sea, ‘The Loyall Subject*,’ where one Kinaston†, a boy, acted the Duke's sister, but made the loveliest lady I ever saw in my life.

“ * A tragi-comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

“ † Edward Kynaston, engaged by Sir W. Davenant in 1660 to perform the principal female characters: he afterwards assumed the male ones in the first parts of tragedy, and continued on the stage till the end of King William's reign. The period of his death is not known.”

" Oct. 11. In the Park we met with Mr. Salisbury, who took Mr. Creed and me to the Cockpitt to see 'The Moore of Venice,' which was well done. Burt acted the Moore; by the same token, a very pretty lady that sat by me, called out, to see Desdemona smothered.

" Nov. 20th. Mr. Shepley and I to the play-house near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields (which was formerly Gibbon's tennis-court) where the play of 'Beggar's Bush*' was newly begun; and so we went in and saw it well acted: and here I saw the first time one Moone†, who is said to be the best actor in the world, lately come over with the King, and it is the finest play-house, I believe, that ever was in England.

" Dec. 31st. In Paul's Church-yard I bought the play of Henry the Fourth, and so went to the new theatre and saw it acted; but my expectation being too great, it did not please me, as otherwise I believe it would; and my having a book, I believe, did spoil it a little.

" Jan. 3d. 1660-1. To the theatre, where was acted 'Beggars' Bush,' it being very well done; and here the first time that I ever saw women come upon the stage.

" 7th. Tom and I and my wife to the theatre,

" * 'The Beggar's Bush,' a comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

" † Mohun, or Moone, the celebrated actor, who had borne a Major's commission in the King's army. The period of his death is uncertain."

and there saw 'The Silent Woman.' Among other things here, Kinaston the boy had the good turn to appear in three shapes : first, as a poor woman in ordinary clothes, to please Morose ; then in fine clothes, as a gallant ; and in them was clearly the prettiest woman in the whole house : and lastly, as a man ; and then likewise did appear the handsomest man in the house.

" 31st. To the theatre, and there sat in the pitt among the company of fine ladys, &c. ; and the house was exceeding full, to see 'Argalus and Parthenia*', the first time that it hath been acted : and indeed it is good, though wronged by my over great expectations, as all things else are.

" Feb. 12th. By coach to the theatre, and there saw 'The Scornfull Lady,' now done by a woman, which makes the play appear much better than ever it did to me.

" 23d. To the play-house, and there saw 'The Changeling†,' the first time it hath been acted these twenty years, and it takes exceedingly. Besides, I see the gallants do begin to be tyred with the vanity and pride of the theatre actors, who are indeed grown very proud and rich.

" March 2d. After dinner I went to the theatre, where I found so few people (which is strange,

" * Argalus and Parthenia, a pastoral, by Henry Glapthorn, taken from Sydney's Arcadia."

" † 'The Changeling,' a tragedy, by Thomas Middleton. The plot is taken from a story in 'God's Revenge against Murder,' "

and the reason I do not know) that I went out again, and so to Salisbury Court, where the house as full as could be; and it seems it was a new play, 'The Queen's Maske*', wherein there are some good humours: among others, a good jeer to the old story of the Siege of Troy, making it to be a common country tale. But above all it was strange to see so little a boy as that was to act Cupid, which is one of the greatest parts in it.

" 11th. After dinner I went to the theatre, and there saw 'Love's Mistress' done by them, which I do not like in some things as well as their acting in Salisbury Court.

" 23d. To the Red Bull (where I had not been since plays come up again) up to the tiring-room, where strange the confusion and disorder that there is among them in fitting themselves, especially here, where the clothes are very poore, and the actors but common fellows. At last into the pitt, where I think there was not above ten more than myself, and not one hundred in the whole house. And the play, which is called 'All lost by Lust†,' poorly done; and with so much disorder, among others, in the musique-room the boy that was to sing a song, not singing it right, his master fell about his eares and beat him so, that it put the whole house in an uproar.

" April 20th. To the Cockpitt; and there, by

" * 'Love's Mistress, or the Queen's Masque,' by T. Heywood."

" † A tragedy, by W. Rowley."

the favour of one Mr. Bowman, he and I got in, and there saw the King and Duke of York and his Duchesse, (which is a plain woman, and like her mother, my Lady Chancellor.) And so saw 'The Humersome Lieutenant' acted before the King, but not very well done. But my pleasure was great to see the manner of it, and so many great beauties, but above all Mrs. Palmer, with whom the King do discover a great deal of familiarity.

" July 2d. Went to Sir William Davenant's* Opera; this being the fourth day that it hath begun, and the first that I have seen it. To-day was acted the second part of 'The Siege of Rhodes†.' We staid a very great while for the King and the Queen of Bohemia. And by the breaking of a board over our heads, we had a great deal of dust fell into the ladies' necks and the men's haire, which made good sport. The King being come, the scene opened; which indeed is very fine and magnificent, and well acted, all but the Eunuche, who was so much out that he was hissed off the stage.

" 4th. I went to the theatre, and there I saw 'Claracilla‡,' (the first time I ever saw it) well

" * Sir William Davenant, the celebrated dramatic writer, and patentee of the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. Ob. 1668, aged 64."

" † Of which Sir William Davenant was the author."

" ‡ A tragi-comedy, by Thomas Killigrew."

acted. But strange to see this house, that used to be so thronged, now empty since the Opera begun; and so will continue for a while, I believe.

“ August 15th. To the Opera, which begins again to-day with ‘The Witts*,’ never acted yet with scenes; and the King and Duke and Duchesse were there (who dined to-day with Sir H. Finch, reader at the Temple, in great state;) and indeed it is a most excellent play, and admirable scenes.

“ 27th. My wife and I to the theatre, and there saw ‘The Joviall Crew†,’ where the King, Duke and Duchesse, and Madame Palmer, were; and my wife, to her great content, had a full sight of them all the while.

“ Nov. 4th. With my wife to the Opera, where we saw ‘The Bondman,’ which of old we both did so doate on, and do still; though to both our thinking not so well acted here, (having too great expectations) as formerly at Salisbury Court. But for Beterton‡, he is called by us both the best actor in the world.

“ * A comedy, by Sir William Davenant.”

“ † Or the ‘Merry Beggars,’ a comedy, by Richard Broome.”

“ ‡ Thomas Betterton, the celebrated actor, born in 1635, was the son of an under cook to Charles I. and first appeared on the stage at the Cockpit in Drury-Lane, in 1659. After the Restoration, two distinct theatres were established by Royal authority; one in Drury-Lane, called the King’s Company, under a patent granted by Killigrew; the other in Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields, styled the Duke’s Troop, the patentee of which was Sir W. Davenant, who engaged Mr. Betterton in 1662. Mr. B. died in 1710, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.”

“ Dec. 16th. After dinner to the Opera, where there was a new play, (Cutter of Coleman-Street) made in the year 1658, with reflections much upon the late times ; and it being the first time the pay was doubled, and so to save money, my wife and I went into the gallery, and there sat and saw very well ; and a very good play it is. It seems of Cowley’s making.

“ Feb. 5th, 1652. To the Playhouse, and there saw ‘ Rule a Wife and have a Wife ;’ very well done. And here also I did look long upon my Lady Castlemaine, who, notwithstanding her sickness, continues a great beauty.

“ 18th. Saw ‘ The Law against Lovers* , a good play and well performed, especially the little girls, (whom I never saw act before) dancing and singing ; and were it not for her, the losse of Roxalana would spoil the house.

“ March 1. To the Opera, and there saw ‘ Romeo and Juliet,’ the first time it was ever acted. I am resolved to go no more to see the first time of acting, for they were all of them out more or less,” &c. &c.

Having now laid before our readers more than a year and a half of dramatic news, after the Restoration, we turn, for the sake of variety, to extracts of a different description.

The following anecdote is related about the period of 1667 :—

“ Mr. Cooling told us how the King, once speaking of the Duke of York’s being mastered by his

“ * A tragi-comedy, by Sir William Davenant ; taken from ‘ Measure for Measure,’ and ‘ Much Ado about Nothing.’ ”

wife, said to some of the company by, that he would go no more abroad with this Tom Otter*, (meaning the Duke of York) and his wife. Tom Killigrew being by, said, 'Sir, pray which is the best for a man, to be a Tom Otter to his wife or to his mistress?' meaning the King's being so to my Lady Castlemaine."

The following may also be received as strongly displaying the manners of the times:—

" I to Sir George Carteret's to dinner; where Mr. Cofferer Ashburnham; who told a good story of a prisoner's being condemned at Salisbury for a small matter. While he was on the bench with his father-in-law, Judge Richardson, and while they were considering to transport him to save his life, the fellow flung a great stone at the Judge, that missed him, but broke through the wainscoat. Upon this he had his hand cut off, and was hanged presently."

Visit to a Bear-Garden, &c.

" To the bear-garden, where now the yard was full of people, and those most of them seamen, striving by force to get in. I got into the common pit; and there, with my cloak about my face, I stood and saw the prize fought, till one of them, a shoemaker, was so cut in both his wrists that he could not fight any longer, and then they broke off: his enemy was a butcher. The sport very good, and various humours to be seen among the rabble that is there."

" * A character in 'Epicene,' or the Silent Woman."

And in 1666. "After dinner with my wife and Mercer to the Beare-garden; where I have not been, I think, of many years, and saw some good sport of the bull's tossing of the dogs: one into the very boxes. But it is a very rude and nasty pleasure. We had a great many hectors in the same box with us, (and one very fine went into the pit, and played his dog for a wager, which was a strange sport for a gentleman,) where they drank wine, and drank Mercer's health first; which I pledged with my hat off. We supped at home, and very merry. And then about nine o'clock to Mrs. Mercer's gate, where the fire and boys expected us, and her son had provided abundance of serpents and rockets; and there mighty merry (my Lady Pen and Pegg going thither with us, and Nan Wright,) till about twelve at night, flinging out fireworks, and burning one another and the people over the way. And at last our businesses being most spent, we in to Mrs. Mercer's, and there mighty merry, smutting one another with candle-grease and soot, till most of us were like devils. And that being done, then we broke up, and to my house; and there I made them drink, and up stairs we went, and then fell into dancing, (W. Batelier dancing well,) and dressing him and I, and one Mr. Banister (who with my wife came over also with us) like women; and Mercer put on a suit of Tom's like a boy, and mighty mirth we had, and Mercer danced a jig; and Nan

Wright and my wife and Pegg Pen put on perri-wigs. Thus we spent till three or four in the morning, mighty merry; and then parted, and to bed. - - -

“ With Sir H. Cholmly to Westminster; who by the way told me how merry the King and Duke of York and Court were the other day, when they were abroad a-hunting. They came to Sir G. Carteret's house at Cranbourne, and there were entertained, and all made drunk; and being all drunk, Armerer did come to the King, and swore to him by God, ‘ Sir,’ says he, ‘ you are not so kind to the Duke of York of late as you used to be.’ ‘ Not I?’ says the King: ‘ why so?’—‘ Why,’ says he, ‘ if you are, let us drink his health.’ ‘ Why let us,’ says the King. Then he fell on his knees and drank it; and having done, the King began to drink it. ‘ Nay, Sir, says Armerer, ‘ by God you must do it on your knees!’ So he did, and then all the company: and having done it, all fell a-crying for joy, being all maudlin and kissing one another, the King the Duke of York, and the Duke of York the King; and in such a maudlin pickle as never people were: and so passed the day. But Sir H. Cholmly tells me, that the King hath this good luck: that the next day he hates to have any body mention what he had done the day before, nor will suffer any body to gain upon him that way; which is a good quality.”

This may be contrasted with a noble anecdote, which shows the

spirit of our brave tars, even when they were generally so ill paid, ill commanded, and ill disciplined.

“Invited to Sir Christopher Mings’ funeral, but find them gone to church. However I into the church (which is a fair large church, and a great chapel) and there heard the service, and staid till they buried him, and then out. And there met with Sir W. Coventry (who was there out of great generosity, and no person of quality there but he) and went with him into his coach, and being in it with him there happened this extraordinary case,—one of the most romantique that ever I heard of in my life, and could not have believed, but that I did see it; which was this:—About a dozen able, lusty, proper men come to the coach-side with tears in their eyes, and one of them that spoke for the rest begun and said to Sir W. Coventry, ‘We are here a dozen of us, that have long known and loved, and served our dead commander, Sir Christopher Mings, and have now done the last office of laying him in the ground. We would be glad we had any other to offer after him, and in revenge of him. All we have is our lives; if you will please to get His Royal Highness to give us a fire-ship among us all, here are a dozen of us, out of all which choose you one to be commander, and the rest of us, whoever he is, will serve him; and, if possible, do that which shall shew our memory of our dead commander, and our revenge.’ Sir W. Coventry was herewith much moved, (as well as I, who could

hardly abstain from weeping,) and took their names, and so parted; telling me that he would move His Royal Highness as in a thing very extraordinary. The truth is, Sir Christopher Mings was a very stout man, and a man of great parts, and most excellent tongue among ordinary men; and as Sir W. Coventry says, could have been the most useful man at such a pinch of time as this. He was come into great renowne here at home, and more abroad in the West Indys. He has brought his family into a way of being great; but dying at this time, his memory and name, (his father being always, and at this day a shoemaker, and his mother a hoyman's daughter, of which he was used frequently to boast,) will be quite forgot in a few months, as if he had never been, nor any of his name be the better by it; he having not had time to will any estate, but is dead poor rather than rich."

Miscellaneous Occurrences.

"Dec. 1, 1662. Over the Parke, where I first in my life, it being a great frost, did see people sliding with their skeates, which is a very pretty art.

"31st. Mr. Povey and I to Whitehall; he taking me thither on purpose to carry me into the ball this night before the King. He brought me first to the Duke's chamber, where I saw him and the Duchesse at supper; and thence into the room where the ball was to be, crammed with fine ladies, the greatest of the Court. By and by comes the

King and Queene, the Duke and the Duchesse, and all the great ones : and after seating themselves, the King takes out the Duchesse of York ; and the Duke the Duchesse of Buckingham ; the Duke of Monmouth, my Lady Castlemaine ; and so other lords other ladies ; and they danced the Brantle. After that the King led a lady a single Coranto ; and then the rest of the lords, one after another, other ladies ; very noble it was and great pleasure to see. Then to country dances ; the King leading the first, which he called for ; which was, says he, ‘ Cuckolds all awry,’ the old dance of Englande. Of the ladies that danced, the Duke of Monmouth’s mistress, and my Lady Castlemaine, and a daughter of Sir Harry de Vicke’s, were the best. The manner was, when the King dances, all the ladies in the room, and the Queene herself, stand up : and indeed he dances rarely, and much better than the Duke of York. Having staid here as long as I thought fit, to my infinite content, it being the greatest pleasure I could wish now to see at Court, I went home, leaving them dancing.

“ 1665, May 28. To see my Lady Pen, where my wife and I were shewn a fine rarity : of fishes kept in a glass of water, that will live so for ever ; and finely marked they are, being foreign.

“ June 7th. The hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and ‘ Lord have mercy

upon us,' writ there ; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that to my remembrance I ever saw."

The account of the plague is not so historical as we have elsewhere read it ; but it is full of authentic and characteristic particulars. The same may be said of the details of the great fire ; but these topics we cannot enter upon as yet.

Messiah predicted by the Jews, &c.

" 1665-6. I am told for certain, what I have heard once or twice already, of a Jew in town, that in the name of the rest, do offer to give any man 10*l.* to be paid 100*l.*, if a certain person now at Smyrna be within these two years owned by all the Princes of the East, and particularly the Grand Segnor, as the King of the world, in the same manner we do the King of England here, and that this man is the true Messiah. One named a friend of his that had received ten pieces in gold upon this score, and says that the Jew hath disposed of 1100*l.* in this manner, which is very strange ; and certainly this year of 1666, will be a year of great action ; but what the consequences of it will be, God knows ! - - -

Mercantile Hoax.

" Mr. Batelier told me how, being with some others at Bourdeaux, making a bargain with another man at a tavern for some clarets, they did hire a fellow to thunder, (which he had the art of doing upon a deale board,) and to rain and hail,

that is, make the noise of, so as did give them a pretence of undervaluing their merchants' wines, by saying this thunder would spoil and turn them. Which was so reasonable to the merchant, that he did abate two pistolls per ton for the wine in belief of that. - - - -

"To St. James's, and did our usual business before the Duke of York: which signified little, our business being only complaints of lack of money. Here I saw a bastard of the late King of Sweden's come to kiss his hands; a mighty modish French-like gentleman. Thence to White Hall, with Sir W. Batten and W. Penn, to Wilkes's; and there did hear many stories of Sir Henry Wood. About Lord Norwich drawing a tooth at a health.

Singular Proviso, &c.—Buckingham and Dorchester committed to the Tower, &c.

"Dec. 8th. The great Proviso passed the House of Parliament yesterday; which makes the King and Court mad, the King having given orders to my Lord Chamberlain to send to the playhouses and brothels, to bid all the Parliament-men that were there, to go to the Parliament presently. This is true, it seems; but it was carried against the Court by thirty or forty voices. It is a proviso to the Poll Bill, that there shall be a committee of nine persons that shall have the inspection upon oath, and power of giving others, of all the accounts of

the money given and spent for this warr. This hath a most sad face, and will breed very ill blood. He tells me, brought in by Sir Robert Howard, who is one of the King's servants, at least hath a great office, and hath got, they say, 20,000*l.* since the King come in. Mr. Pierce did also tell me as a great truth, as being told it by Mr. Cowly, who was by and heard it, that Tom Killegrew should publickly tell the King that his matters were coming into a very ill state; but that yet there was a way to help all. Says he, 'There is a good, honest, able man that I could name, that if your Majesty would employ, and command to see all things well executed, all things would soon be mended; and this is one Charles Stuart, who now spends his time in employing his lips about the court, and hath no other employment; but if you would give him this employment, he were the fittest man in the world to perform it.' This, he says, is most true; but the King do not profit by any of this, but lays all aside, and remembers nothing, but to his pleasures again; which is a sorrowful consideration. - - - -

"Talked of the King's family with Mr. Hingston, the organist. He says many of the musique are ready to starve, they being five years behind-hand for their wages: nay, Evans, the famous man upon the harp, having not his equal in the world, did the other day die for mere want, and was fain to be buried at the almes of the parish, and carried to his grave in the dark at night with-

out one linke, but that Mr. Hingston met it by chance, and did give 12*d.* to buy two or three links. Thence I up to the Lords' House to enquire for my Lord Belasses ; and there hear how at a conference this morning between the two houses, about the business of the Canary Company, my Lord Buckingham leaning rudely over my Lord Marquis Dorchester, my Lord Dorchester removed his elbow. Duke of Buckingham asked whether he was uneasy ; Dorchester replied, yes, and that he durst not do this were he any where else : Buckingham replied, yes he would, and that he was a better man than himself ; Dorchester said that he lyed. With this Buckingham struck off his hat, and took him by his periwig, and pulled it aside, and held him. My Lord Chamberlain and others interposed, and upon coming into the House the Lords did order them both to the Tower, whither they are to go this afternoon.

“ This day's work will bring the Lieutenant of the Tower 350*l.* ”

The preceding extract of this kind was of March 1st, 1662, the first acting of Romeo and Juliet in the author's time ; the next is of Sept. 29th in the same year ; but there is still a more copious entry ; *e. g.*

Farther Extracts relative to the Drama and the Stage, &c.

“ To the King's Theatre, where we saw ‘ Midsummer Night's Dream,’ which I had never seen before, nor shall ever again, for it is the most insipid ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life.

“ Oct. 30th. I would not forget two passages of Sir J. Minnes's at yesterday's dinner. The one, that to the question how it comes to pass that there are no boars seen in London, but many sowes and pigs, it was answered, that the constable gets them a-nights. The other, Thos. Killigrew's way of getting to see plays when he was a boy. He would go to the Red Bull, and when the man cried to the boys, ‘ Who will go and be a devil, and he shall see the play for nothing ? ’ then would he go in, and be a devil upon the stage, and so get to see plays. ”

1662-3, Jan. 5th. To the Cockpit, where we saw ‘ Claracilla,’ a poor play, done by the king's house ; but neither the king nor the queen were there, but only the duke and duchesse. Elborough, (my old school-fellow at Paul's) do tell me, and so do others, that Dr. Calamy is this day sent to Newgate for preaching, Sunday was se'nnight, without leave, though he did it only to supply the place ; otherwise the people must have gone away without ever a sermon, they being disappointed of a minister : but the bishop of London will not take that as an excuse. Dined at home ; and there being the famous new play acted the first time to-day, which is called ‘ The Adventures of Five Hours,’ at the duke's house, being, they say, made or translated by Colonel Tuke, I did long to see it : and so we went ; and though early, were forced to sit, almost out of sight, at the end of one of the lower forms, so full was the house. And the play,

in one word, is the best, for the variety and the most excellent continuance of the plot to the very end, that ever I saw, or think ever shall.

“Feb. 6th. To Lincoln’s Inn Fields ; and it being too soon to go to dinner, I walked up and down, and looked upon the outside of the new theatre building in Covent Garden, which will be very fine.

“May 28th. By water to the Royall Theatre ; but that was so full they told us we could have no room. And so to the duke’s house ; and there saw ‘Hamlet’ done, giving us fresh reason never to think enough of Betterton. Who should we see come upon the stage but Gosnell, my wife’s maid ; but neither spoke, danced, nor sung ; which I was sorry for.

“June 1st. I with Sir J. Minnes to the Strand May-pole ; and there light out of his coach, and walked to the New Theatre, which, since the king’s players are gone to the royal one, is this day begun to be employed by the fencers to play prizes at. And here I come and saw the first prize I ever saw in my life : and it was between one Mathews, who did beat at all weapons, and one Westwicke, who was soundly cut several times both in the head and legs, and that he was all over blood ; and other deadly blows they did give and take in very good earnest, till Westwicke was in a sad pickle. They fought at eight weapons, three bouts at each weapon. This being upon a private quarrel, they

did it in good earnest ; and I felt one of their swords, and found it to be very little, if at all, blunter on the edge than the common swords are. Strange to see what a deal of money is flung to them both upon the stage between every bout.

“ 12th. To the Royal Theatre ; and there saw ‘ The Committee,’ a merry but indifferent play, only Lacey’s part, an Irish footman, is beyond imagination. Here I saw my Lord Falconbridge, and his Lady, my Lady Mary Cromwell, who looks as well as I have known her, and well clad ; but when the house began to fill, she put on her vizard, and so kept it on all the play ; which of late is become a great fashion among the ladies, which hides their whole face. So to the Exchange, to buy things with my wife ; among others, a vizard for herself.”

What strange ideas do these last four memoranda give us of the period ! The building of the first Covent-Garden ; the appearance on the stage of a private servant ; the change of one house from the regular drama into a Fives’-Court for prize-fighting, and that in a private quarrel too ; and the singular mixture of the spectators at all places of amusement in vizards and other disguises, so befitting these days of intrigue. By the next we discover that the alleged pride and ambition of performers in our times is not without precedent.

“ July 22d, 1663. Wotten tells me the reason of Harris’s going from Sir Wm. Davenant’s house is, that he grew very proud, and demanded 20*l.* for

himself extraordinary, more than Betterton or any body else, upon every new play, and 10*l.* upon every revive ; which with other things Sir W. Davenant would not give him, and so he swore he would never act there more, in expectation of being received in the other house ; but the king will not suffer it, upon Sir W. Davenant's desire that he would not, for then he might shut up house, and that is true. He tells me that his going is at present a great loss to the house, and that he fears he hath a stipend from the other house privately. He tells me that the fellow grew very proud of late, the king and every body else crying him up so high, and that above Betterton, he being a more ayery man, as he is indeed ; but yet Betterton, he says they all say, do act some parts that none but himself can do.

“ Feb. 3, 1664. In Covent-Garden to-night, going to fetch home my wife, I stopped at the great Coffee-house there, where I never was before : where Dryden the poet (I knew him at Cambridge), and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr. Hoole of our College. And had I had a time then, or could at other times, it will be good coming thither, for there, I perceive, is very witty and pleasant discourse. But I could not tarry, and as it was late, they were all ready to go away.

“ June 1. To the King's house, and saw ‘ The Silent Woman ; ’ but methought not so well done, or so good a play, as I formerly thought it to be. Before the play was done, it fell such a storm of

hayle, that we in the middle of the pit were fain to rise; and all the house in a disorder.

August 2d. To the king's play-house, and there saw, 'Bartholomew Fayre,' which do still please me; and is, as it is acted, the best comedy in the world, I believe. I chanced to sit by Tom Killigrew, who tells me that he is setting up a nursery; that is, is going to build a house in Moore-fields, wherein he will have common plays acted. But four operas it shall have in the year, to act six weeks at a time: where we shall have the best scenes and machines, the best musique, and every thing as magnificent as is in Christendome; and to that end hath sent for voices, and painters, and other persons from Italy.

"4th. To a play at the king's house, 'The Rival Ladys *,' a very innocent and most pretty witty play. I was much pleased with it, and it being given me †, I look upon it as no breach of my oath. Here we hear that Clun, one of their best actors, was, the last night, going out of towne, (after he had acted the Alchymist, wherein was one of his best parts that he acts) to his country-house, set upon and murdered; one of the rogues taken, an Irish fellow. It seems most cruelly butchered and bound. The house will have a great miss of him.

* "A tragedy by Dryden."

† His companion paid for him; for, to avoid addicting himself to pleasures of which he thought he was becoming too fond, he had sworn to abstain from public amusements.—EDITOR.

“ 5th. About ten o’clock I dressed myself, and so mounted upon a very pretty mare, sent me by Sir W. Warren, according to his promise yesterday. And so through the city, not a little proud, God knows, to be seen upon so pretty a beast, and to my cosen W. Joyce’s, who presently mounted too, and he and I out of towne toward Highgate ; in the way, at Kentish-towne, he shewing me the place and manner of Clun’s being killed and laid in a ditch, and yet was not killed by any wounds, having only one in his arm, but bled to death through his struggling. He told me, also, the manner of it, of his going home so late drinking with his mistress, and manner of having it found out.

“ 13th. To the new play at the Duke’s house, of ‘ Henry the Fifth ;’ a most noble play, writ by my Lord Orrery ; wherein Betterton, Harris, and Ianthe’s parts are most incomparably wrote and done, and the whole play the most full of height and raptures of wit and sense, that ever I heard ; having but one incongruity, that King Henry promises to plead for Tudor to their mistress, Princess Katherine of France, more than when it comes to it he seems to do ; and Tundo refused by her with some kind of indignity, not with a difficulty and honour that it ought to have been done in to him.

“ Oct. 11th. Luellin tells me what an obscene loose play this ‘ Parson’s Wedding ’ is, that is acted by nothing but women at the King’s house.

“ Nov. 5. To the Duke’s house to see ‘ Macbeth,’

a pretty good play, but admirably acted. Thence home; the coach being forced to go round by London Wall home, because of the bonfires; the day being mightily observed in the city.

"Jan 14. To the King's house, there to see *Vulpone*, a most excellent play; the best I think I ever saw, and well acted.

"April 3. To a play at the Duke's, of my Lord Orrery's, called '*Mustapha*,' which being not good, made *Betterton's* part and *Ianthe's* but ordinary too. All the pleasure of the play was, the King and my Lady Castlemaine were there; and pretty witty *Nell*, at the King's house, and the younger *Marshall* sat next us; which pleased me mightily."

Adding only one other extract connected with theatricals, and passing on to August 20, 1666, (greater events having interrupted plays during this important year,) we shall hasten to take up another thread of the web. *

"Aug. 20. To Deptford by water, reading *Othello*, *Moor of Venice*, which I ever heretofore esteemed a mighty good play, but having so lately read the *Adventures of Five Hours*, it seems a mean thing."

King Charles's Reception on Board of Lord Sandwich's Ship, on his Voyage from Holland to England, &c.

When Charles was received on board Lord Sandwich's ship, on his voyage from Holland to

* *Literary Gazette*; whose select analysis we have principally followed in this article.

England, Pepys gives a very *naïve* but interesting account of that remarkable event; from which we take a few particulars. The date is May 23, 1660.

“The King, with the two Dukes and Queen of Bohemia, Princesse Royale, and Prince of Orange, come on board, where I in their coming in kissed the King’s, Queen’s, and Princesse’s hands, having done the other before. Infinite shooting off of the guns, and that in a disorder on purpose, which was better than if it had been otherwise. All day nothing but Lords and persons of honour on board, that we were exceeding full. Dined in a great deal of state, the Royale company by themselves in the coach, which was a blessed sight to see. After dinner the King and Duke altered the names of some of the ships, viz. the Nazeby into Charles : the Richard, James, the Speaker, Mary ; the Dunbar which was not in company with us) the Henry ; Winsly, Happy Return ; Wakefield, Richmond ; Lambert, the Henrietta ; Cherriton, the Speedwell ; Bradford, the Successe. That done, the Queen, Princesse Royale, and Prince of Orange, took leave of the King, and the Duke of York went on board the London, and the Duke of Gloucester, the Swiftsure. Which done, we weighed anchor, and with a fresh gale and most happy weather we set sail for England. All the afternoon the King walked here and there, up and down, (quite contrary to what I thought him to have been) very active and stirring. Upon the quarter-deck he fell

into discourse of his escape from Worcester, where it made me ready to weep to hear the stories that he told of his difficulties that he had passed through, as his travelling four days and three nights on foot, every step up to his knees in dirt, with nothing but a green coat and a pair of country breeches on, and a pair of country shoes that made him so sore all over his feet that he could scarce stir. Yet he was forced to run away from a miller and other company, that took them for rogues. His sitting at table at one place, where the master of the house, that had not seen him in eight years, did know him, but kept it private; when at the same table there was one that had been of his own regiment at Worcester, could not know him, but made him drink the king's health, and said that the king was at least four fingers higher than he. At another place he was by some servants of the house made to drink, that they might know that he was not a Roundhead, which they swore he was. In another place at his inn, the master of the house, as the king was standing with his hands upon the back of a chair by the fire-side, kneeled down, and kissed his hand, privately, saying that he would not ask him who he was, but bid God bless him whither he was going. Then the difficulties in getting a boat to get into France, where he was fain to plot with the master thereof to keep his design from the foreman and a boy (which was all the ship's company), and so get to Fecamp in France. At Rouen he

looked so poorly, that the people went into the rooms before he went away to see whether he had not stole something or other."

Of some of the customs at home, (how different from the present era, in some cases, we know not) the following are items :—

"1660, June 22d. Had the great coach to Brigham's, who told me how my Lady Monk deals with him and others for their places, asking him 500l. though he was formerly the king's coach-maker, and sworn to it.*

"Sept. 25th. I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink) of which I had never drank before, and went away (the King and the Princesse coming up the river this afternoon as we were at our play)."

Tea, the novelty, is again mentioned seven years afterwards, namely, June, 1667 :

"Home, and there find my wife making of tea ; a drink which Mr. Pelling, the Poticary, tells her is good for her cold and defluctions."

* At the new year, the subjoined memorandum throws an equal light on such practices.

"4th. I had been early this morning at White Hall, at the Jewell Office, to choose a piece of gilt plate for my Lord, in returne of his offering to the king (which it seems is usual at this time of year, and an Earle gives twenty pieces in gold in a purse to the King). I chose a gilt tankard, weighing 31 ounces and a half, and he is allowed 30 ; so I paid 12s. for the ounce and half over what he is to have : but strange it was for me to see what a company of small fees I was called upon by a great many to pay there, which I perceive is the manner that courtiers do get their estates."

State of Society in the early Days after the Restoration.

“ Jan. 9th. Waked in the morning about six o'clock, by people running up and down in Mr. Davis's house, talking that the Fanatiques were up in armes in the city. And so I rose and went forth ; where in the streets I found every body in armes at the doors. So I returned and got my sword and pistol, which, however, I had no powder to charge ; and went to the door, where I found Sir R. Ford, and with him I walked up and down as far as the Exchange, and there I left him. In our way the streets full of train-bands, and a great stir. What mischief these rogues have done ! and I think near a dozen had been killed this morning on both sides. The shops shut, and all things in trouble.

“ 10th. Mr. Davis told us the particular examination of these Fanatiques that are taken ; and in short it is this : These Fanatiques that have routed all the train-bands that they met with, put the King's life-guards to the run, killed about twenty men, broke through the city gates twice ; and all this in the day-time, when all the city was in armes, are not in all above thirty-one ; whereas we did believe them (because they were seen up and down in every place almost in the city, and had been in Highgate two or three days, and in several other places) to be at least 500. A thing that never was heard of, that so few men should dare and do so much mischief. Their word was, ‘ The

King Jesus, and their heads upon the gates !' Few of them would receive any quarter, but such as were taken by force, and kept alive ; expecting Jesus to come here and reign in the world presently, and will not believe yet.

A contest between the Spanish and French ambassadors, for precedence in the street, in which blood was shed on both sides, presents another singular picture of manners ; but we prefer more domestic statements :

" Aug 27th, 1661. At noon met my wife at the wardrobe ; and there dined, where we found Capt. Country, (my little Captain that I loved, who carried me to the Sound,) with some grapes and millions from my Lord at Lisbone. The first that ever I saw ; but the grapes are rare things. In the afternoon comes Mr. Edward Montagu (by appointment this morning) to talk with my Lady and me about the provisions fit to be bought and sent to my Lord along with him ; and told us, that we need not trouble ourselves how to buy them, for the king would pay for all, and that he would take care to get them : which put my Lady and me in a great deal of ease of mind. Here we staid and supped too, and, after my wife had put up some of the grapes in a basket for to be sent to the King, we took coach and home, where we found a hampire of millions sent to me also.

" May 21st, 1662. My wife and I to my Lord's lodging ; where she and I staid walking in White Hall garden. And in the Privy-garden saw the

finest smocks and linen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's, laced with rich lace at the bottom, that ever I saw ; and did me good to look at them. Sarah told me how the king dined at my Lady Castlemaine's, and supped, every day and night the last week ; and that the night the bonfires were made for joy of the Queene's arrivall, the King was there ; but there was no fire at her door, though at all the rest of the doors almost in the street ; which was much observed : and that the King and she did send for a pair of scales and weighed one another ; and she, being with child, was said to be heaviest. But she is now a most disconsolate creature, and comes not out of doors, since the King's going.

“ 25th. To church, and heard a good sermon of Mr. Woodcocke's at our church ; only in his latter prayer for a woman in childbed, he prayed that God would deliver her from the hereditary curse of childe-bearing, which seemed a pretty strange expression. Out with Capt. Ferrers to Charing Cross ; and there at the Triumph Tavern he shewed me some Portugall ladys, which are come to towne before the Queene. They are not handsome, and their farthingales a strange dress. Many ladys and persons of quality come to see them. I find nothing in them that is pleasing ; and I see they have learnt to kiss and look freely up and down already, and I do believe will soon forget the recluse practice of their own country. They com-

plain much for lack of good water to drink. The King's guards and some City companies do walk up and downe the towne these five or six days ; which makes me think, and they do say, there are some plots in laying.

Execution of Sir Henry Vane.

“ June 14th. About 11 o'clock, having a room got ready for us, we all went out to the Tower-hill ; and there, over against the scaffold, made on purpose this day, saw Sir Henry Vane brought. A very great press of people. He made a long speech, many times interrupted by the sheriffe and others there ; and they would have taken his paper out of his hand, but he would not let it go. But they caused all the books of those that writ after him to be given the Sheriffe ; and the trumpets were brought under the scaffold that he might not be heard. Then he prayed, and so fitted himself, and received the blow ; but the scaffold was so crowded that we could not see it done. But Boreman, who had been upon the scaffold, told us, that first he began to speak of the irregular proceeding against him ; that he was, against Magna Charta, denied to have his exceptions against the indictment allowed ; and that there he was stopped by the Sheriffe. Then he drew out his paper of notes, and began to tell them first his life ; that he was born a gentleman ; he had been, till he was seventeen years old, a good fellow, but then it pleased God to lay a foundation of grace in his heart, by which he

was persuaded, against his worldly interest, to leave all preferment and go abroad, where he might serve God with more freedom. Then he was called home, and made a member of the Long Parliament, where he never did, to this day, any thing against his conscience, but all for the glory of God. Here he would have given them an account of the proceedings of the Long Parliament, but they so often interrupted him, that at last he was forced to give over; and so fell into prayer for England in general, then for the churches in England, and then for the city of London; and so fitted himself for the block, and received the blow. He had a blister or issue upon his neck, which he desired them not to hurt: he changed not his colour of speech to the last, but died justifying himself and the cause he had stood for; and spoke very confidently of his being presently at the right hand of Christ; and in all things appeared the most resolved man that ever died in that manner, and shewed more of heate than of cowardice; but yet with all humility and gravity. One asked him why he did not pray for the king. He answered, 'You shall see I can pray for the king: I pray God bless him!' The king had given his body to his friends; and, therefore, he told them that he hoped they would be civil to his body when dead; and desired they would let him die like a gentleman and a Christian, and not crowded and pressed as he was."

Fashionable Amusements, &c.

“ July 26. This afternoon I went to Westminster, and there hear that the King and Queene intend to come to White Hall from Hampton Court next week, for all winter. Thence to Mrs. Sarah, and there looked over my Lord’s lodgings, which are very pretty ; and White Hall garden and the Bowling-ally (where lords and ladies are now at bowles), in brave condition. Mrs. Sarah told me how the falling out between my Lady Castlemaine and her Lord was about christening of the child lately, which he would have, and had, done by a priest ; and some days after, she had it again christened by a minister ; the King, and Lord of Oxford, and Duchesse of Suffolk, being witnesses ; and christened with a proviso that it had not already been christened. Since that she left her Lord, carrying away every thing in the house ; so much as every dish, and cloth, and servant but the porter. He is gone discontented into France, they say, to enter a monastery ; and now she is coming back again to her house in King-streete. But I hear that the Queene did pick her out of the list presented her by the King ; desiring that she might have that favour done her, or that he would send her from whence she come ; and that the King was angry and the Queene discontented a whole day and night upon it ; but that the King hath promised to have nothing to do with her hereafter. But I cannot believe that the King can fling her off so,

he loving her too well: and so I writ this night to my Lady to be my opinion; she calling her my Lady, and the lady I admire. Here I find that my Lord hath lost the garden to his lodgings, and that it is turning into a tennis-court.

“27th. I to walk in the Parke, which is now every day more and more pleasant, by the new works upon it.

A Visit to Surgeon's Hall. Hanging described.

Coins: Cromwell's Crown, &c. &c

“27th Feb. 1662-3. About 11 o'clock, Commissioner Pett and I walked to Chyrurgeon's Hall, (we being all invited thither, and promised to dine there;) where we were led into the Theatre; and by and by comes the reader, Dr. Tearne, with the Master and Company, in a very handsome manner: and all being settled, he begun his lecture; and his discourse being ended, we had a fine dinner and good learned company, many Doctors of Phisique, and were used with extraordinary great respect. Among other observables we drunk the King's health out of a gilt cup given by Henry VIII. to this Company, with bells hanging at it, which every man is to ring by shaking after he hath drunk up the whole cup. There is also a very excellent piece of the King, done by Holbein, stands up in the Hall, with the officers of the Company kneeling to him to receive their Charter. Dr. Scarborough took some of his friends, and I went with them, to see the body of a lusty fellow, a seaman,

that was hanged for a robbery. It seems one Dillon, of a great family, was, after much endeavours to have saved him, hanged with a silken halter this Sessions, (of his own preparing,) not for honour only, but it being soft and sleek, it do slip close, and kills, that is, strangles presently : whereas a stiff one do not come so close together, and so the party may live the longer before killed. But all the Doctors at table conclude, that there is no pain at all in hanging, for that it do stop the circulation of the blood ; and so stops all sense and motion in an instant. - - - -

- - - - "There dined with us to-day Mr. Slingsby of the Mint, who shewed us all the new pieces both gold and silver, examples of them all) that were made for the King, by Blondeau's way ; and compared them with those made for Oliver. The pictures of the latter made by Symons, and of the King by one Rotyr, a German; I think that dined with us also. He extolls those of Rotyr above the others ; and, indeed, I think they are the better, because the sweeter of the two ; but, upon my word, those of the Protector are more like in my mind, than the King's, but both very well worth seeing. The crownes of Cromwell are now sold, it seems, for 25s. and 30s. a-piece.

Graphic Sketch of the City of London. A Buffle-headed Lord-Mayor described.

" March 17th. To St. Margaret's Hill in Southwark, where the Judge of the Admiralty come, and

the rest of the Doctors of the Civil Law, and some other Commissioners, whose Commission of Oyer and Terminer was read, and then the charge given by Dr. Exton, which methought was somewhat dull, though he would seem to intend it to be very rhetorically, saying that Justice had two wings, one of which spread itself over the land, and the other over the water, which was this Admiralty Court. I perceive that this Court is yet but in its infancy, (as to its rising again,) and their design and consultation was, I could overhear them, how to proceed with the most solemnity, and spend time, there being only two businesses to do, which of themselves could not spend much time.

Sir W. Batten and I to my Lord Mayor's, where we found my Lord, with Colonel Strangways and Sir Richard Floyd, Parliament men, in the cellar drinking, where we sat with them, and then up; and by and by come in Sir Richard Ford. We had many discourses, but from all of them I do find Sir R. Ford, a very able man of his brains and tongue, and a scholler. But my Lord Mayor a talking, bragging, buffleheaded fellow, that would be thought to have led all the city in the great business of bringing in the King, and that nobody understood this plot, and the dark lanthorn he walked by; but led them and plowed with them as oxen and asses (his own words) to do what he had a mind: when in every discourse I observe him to be as very a coxcombe as I could have

thought had been in the city. But he is resolved to do great matters in pulling down the shops quite through the city, as he hath done in many places, and will make a thorough passage quite through the city, through Canning-street, which indeed will be very fine. And then his precept, which he, in vain glory, said he had drawn up himself, and hath printed it, against coachmen and carmen affronting of the gentry in the street; it is drawn so like a fool, and some faults were openly found in it, that I believe he will have so much wit as not to proceed upon it, though it be printed. Here we staid talking till eleven at night, Sir R. Ford breaking to my Lord our business of our patent to be Justices of the Peace in the City, which he stuck at mightily; but however, Sir R. Ford knows him to be a fool, and so in his discourse he made him appear, and cajoled him into a consent to it: but so as I believe when he comes to his right mind to-morrow, he will be of another opinion; and though Sir R. Ford moved it very weightily and neatly, yet I had rather it had been spared now. But to see how he rants, and pretends to sway all the city in the Court of Aldermen, and says plainly that they cannot do, nor will he suffer them to do, any thing but what he pleases; nor is there any officer of the city but of his putting in; nor any man that could have kept the city for the King thus well and long but him. And if the country can be preserved, he will undertake that the city shall not dare to stir again.

When I am confident there is no man almost in the city cares for him, nor hath he brains to outwit any ordinary tradesman.

FOUR ORIGINAL LETTERS OF KING JAMES II.

Deposited in the MSS. Closet of Trinity College, Dublin, never before published, in which the Orthography is preserved.

LETTER I.

Addressed, "For L. Gen. Hamilton."§

Dublin, May 1, 1689.

I am sorry to find by yours of the 27th, that Luisignan is so ill hurt: lett him know how much I am troubled at it, and make a compliment to Pointz upon his being hurt also; you do very well to pre caution yourself against sallys, from a towne where there is so many men, and pray let the Gen. officers who remaine not expose themselves too muche. I have sent you a power to pardon such as will accept of it. Lord Melfort shall give you an account of the troops I am sending down to you, as also of what cannon and mortars are a preparing with all possible deligence: you shall have all I can send you to enable you to reduce that rebellious towne; and to make the more noyse, the D. of Tyrconnel is a preparing to go downe to you, it being as you well obserue of the last consequence to master it. I expect to have an account every moment of the arrival of the French fleett, for besides that the wind has been so

many days faire for them, letters from Kinsale say they were left but fifteen leagues from that port. You will before this getts to you have been informed of Bohan's having entirely beaten w^{ch} were gott together in the county of Downe, at least five thousand in number, and killed several hundreds of them on the place. I hope the advice you had from Mr. Lunday, will proue but a story, if what a Sergeant w^{ch} came from Leverpoole but last week says be true, w^{ch} you will know by this. §

J. R.

I am a sending Dorrington downe to you. §

LETTER II.

TO THE SAME.

Dublin, May 10, 1689.

I am sorry for the losse of Kamsay ; such accidents will happen, and one must not be discouraged. I am sensible you have a hard worke on your hands, but at last will I hope be able to overcome it. I am sending downe one great mortar and two pieces of battery by land, and the same number of both by sea : 'twas actually impossible to dispatch them sooner : ten Comp. of Eustach will soon be with you, all well armed, and clothed, and five Comp. of the same Reg. are to march downe : what other I send, shall be well armed : I send you downe with this a paper concerning Derry ; you will see whether it be practicable or no, of w^{ch} none can judg, but you that are on the place. I am sending

downe Sr Ne. O'Neal's Reg. of Dragoons into the Countys of Downe and Antrim, w^{ch} will be the more necessary since you have ordered Gen. Maj. Bohan to you. I thinke it absolutely necessary you should not lett any more men come out of Derry, but for intelligence, or some extraordinary occasion, for they may want provisions, and would be glad to rid themselves of useless mouths. JAMES R.

LETTER III.

TO THE SAME.

Dublin, May 20, 1689.

You will before this have had an account from L^d. Melfort, of what men, arms, and stores have been sent you and are designed for you. I now send back to you this bearer L^d. Dungan, to lett you know that this day I have been informed by one who came from Chester on Wednesday last, that Kirke was to sett saile with the first fair wind from thence with fowr reg^t of foott, to endeavour to relieve Derry. I have ordered a copy of the information to be sent you. I know you will do your part to hinder if you can, their getting into that towne, for should once more those English succors be obliged to return again, that rebellious towne could not hold out long with the force I send you, but if you cannot hinder their getting into the towne, you must then take care to secure your retreat as well as you can, on your side, and to take care also of the cannon, mortar, and men, w^{ch} are on the east

side of the river of Derry, for no doubt they will presse you, when you draw off: in case you should be obliged to do it, what I propose is that you should endeavour to keep Castlefin Cladyford bridg, and Strabane, to hinder them from coming over those waters: this I thinke may be easily done, considering tho' they may be strong in foot, they can have but few and bad horse, and that I designe to go about to reduce Eniskilling: in the mean tyme I am thinkind of sending some more troops towards Charlemont, which will be ready to look toward you; or Carrickfergu, as occasion shall offer: lett Castlederg be well provided: I have sent some horse and dragoons to reinforce Sarsfield and Sligo, and have ordered Pursell's dragoons to Belturbet. What els I have to say I refer to this bearer L^d Dungan. §

JAMES R.

LETTER IV.

TO THE SAME.

Dublin, July 8, 1689.

I do not find by what I heare from you and others that those in Derry are so prest for want of victuals as once was believed, so that if they could be prest otherways, it would do well. I am sensible you are but ill furnished with wherewithal to carry on your trenches, and to attaque them vigorously, but however I am sure you will do what is to be done. I am afraide your French enginers, tho' very able men in their trade, may have been so used

to have all things necessary provided for them, and to want nothing, that they are not so industrious as others lesse knowing men might be, and that they do not push on their worke as they might do, having so much to say for themselves, upon the account of their being so ill provided; however methinks they might have gott Maderier's ready in all this tyme, to have lodged the miners, w^{ch} I have seen done to a stronger towne than Derry, and where we wanted cannon to mine their defences. I only hint this to you, not pretending at this distance to judg, whether it be practicable or no, and for making of Maderiers, I am sure, 'tis but the pulling downe some house in [this word is partly erased in the original but substituted by the following] near Derry or at Lifford or Strabane, where one may find beams strong enough to make them, and tho' Lattin be not to be gott, new hids will do as well to preserve them from fire: this is only for yourself: you have another letter from me about what had been reported here, of some proposals made to you by those of Derry, to which I refer you. §

JAMES R.

ORIGINAL LETTER FROM ALGERNON SYDNEY TO
LORD WHITWORTH.

Elsinore, Nov. the 13th,

MY LORD,

(1659 or 1660.)

SINCE your Lordship's of the 21st of Sept. I have received noe letter from England, but such as have

comme to me by chance from persons soe farre from the knowledge of businesse that they did not knowe of the liberty granted unto us by the Parliament and Councell to retorne home, soe that my colleagues and I have depended wholly upon the informations wee could receave from the Holland Ministers for the knowledge of all that hath bin done in England since that time. I was never more surprized with any thing then the votes and acts of the Parliament upon the petition of the fift of the last moneth; the contents of it being so modest that, for ought I can see, they gave a very faire way and opportunity unto the Parliament of gratifying them, and composing thoes differences that weare about to spring up amongst them; then which I think nothing was more desirable. I cannot imagine what could put them upon soe contrary a course, destructive unto themselves, and dangerous to our long-defended cause; but there is a *vis abditā* which sweyes all humane things, turnes them which way it pleaseth, blasts the best-weighed counsell, and makes the most absurd follyes often serviceable unto the greatest good. Wee have seene much of this in our age, and noe man knowes but theis late actions may render it yet more evident; and your Lordship's prudence may doe very much towards the making it soe by making use of theis extravagancies for the procuring such a settlement, as would with much more difficulty have bin obtained, if they whoe had intentions to oppose it had not destroyed

themselves. Your Lordship sees how much I am in the dark as to those actions amongst you wherein I have the nearest concernment, both as an Englishman and as one that for this many yeares have bin engaged in that cause which by the help of God, I shall never desert. I doe not knowe how it will be taken that wee make noe use of the liberty that was granted unto us of returning home; but I think whosoever sees the condition in which wee are, will hardly believe wee could have any other reasons then the care of the publique interest, and the not daring to take upon ourselves (when it was referred to our discretion) the leaving of a businesse in which the whole nation may receive an extreame prejudice. I am not able to speake more particularly of the generall state of our businesse then in the representation wee have made unto the Councell; nor am able to tell whether wee may be able to obtain a particular peace betwixt Denmark and Sweden, which will be followed by Poland and Brandenburgh, or the generall peace of Germany, but I think, I am sure it is good for us to endeavour the first, and have an eye to both, that, if it be possible, wee may preserve the Swedish interest in Germany and the Sound; or, if he be so obstinate as that he must be destroyed, to take care wee may not fall with him. He doth aske a generall peace, and every boddy believes he doth abhorre it. The Danes eagerly harken after a generall treaty, which we have hitherto diverted,

thinking it certaine, that the Imperialists will insist upon keeping what they have or shall hereafter take from the Swede, or force him to restore Schonen unto the Danes ; or, which is worst of all, while they dispute according to the German manner upon foolish circumstances and ceremonies touching the preliminaryes, they may most probably gaine such advantage upon him as will absolutely change the conditions of the treaty. Theis things and many others are very obvious to any man's understanding ; but the king of Sweden, though he is very able, he is soe carryed away with his ambitious humour, the flattery of somme of his ministers heare, and the false informations that he receaves from thoes that he employes abroad, that he sees nothing of this, but runnes blindly on, as I feare, too his destruction. Amongst other things in which I think he is abused, I think that relating unto England is not the least. Since the unhappy returne of our fleet, he hath never thought England would doe any thing against him. A few shot of our cannon would have made this peace, and given us leisure to consult of the Germane affaires ; but now he is soe possessed with an opinion that the army governess all, and is wholly for his interest, upon the informations he receaves from M. Frizendorf, and Beushute a chymicall Swedish senator (whoe, as they say, is making money at Lambeth). Wee say what wee can, but it is all in vaine ; he will have a generall peace, or assurance of assist-

ance from us, before he will leave theis islands ; but small accidents may change theis resolutions. If hee hath ill successe one Funen, the difficulty of concluding this peace will be one the other side. When wee are in this uncertainty as to publique businesse both in England and heare, you may be sure we cannot be more settled in that which concerns our particular. I referre myself very much unto your Lordship as to that. If the government in England doe continue upon the good old principles, I shall be ready to serve them ; if it returnes to monarchy, I desire nothing but liberty to retire, finding myself a very unfit stone for to have any place in such a building. Having thus farre and freely declared myself unto your Lordship, I desire you would, according to your accustomed favour, take care that I may know what I may have to depend upon in relation unto our negotiation and myself, who am by a most fixed inclination,

Your Lordship's most humble and faithfull
servant,

AL. SYDNEY.

Wee heare Gen. Monk is marching unto England ; but I hope you have ordered matters soe as to keepe the army united.

FOUR LETTERS *from* EMINENT SCHOLARS, *addressed*
to DR. BUSBY.

1. " SIR, *Homelucie, June 27, 1663.*

" You are now engaged. The acceptance of the cider in the wooden vessell, puts a necessitie upon you not to refuse these ten dozen of the same

apple in glass-bottles, which this bearer is to present you with. For, since I have just cause to feare that yours hath endured the same mishap which others have felt that I sent up at the same time, I would vindicate; and these bottles desire to bee admitted to pleade for their kindred. And how can that generous and most eminent person, who yeelds himself to bee the guide of life by seasoning the tender years of this nation, give such an example as to refuse to receive the plea of an innocent thing, which desires to shew the failing comes not from viciousness in nature, but from some externall violence of cask, or carriage, or the like? Therefore wee knock boldly at your cellar-doore, and request onely to bee heard, that is, to bee tasted. Accompanying it with the heartiest wishes that an obliged reall friende can breath, and resting yours affectionately to serve you.

God bless my grandsonne*, and rewarde you for him.

J. SCUDAMORE."

2. CUM sub tuo moderamine (Vir Reverende) tam diu bonis literis institutus, tanti viri sanctioribus curis summoque favore intimiùs fruebar, pudet, fateor, post tot exactos annos† pro tantis beneficiis jam primùm gratias retribuere; timeremque ne ipsa gratiarum actio, cùm tam sera sit, indicium ingritudinis videretur, nisi cognovissem tantum tuum esse erga tuos candorem, ut hinc colligeres

* James Scudamore, King's scholar, 1661.

† Elected to Oxford, 1666.

potiùs non posse ingratum esse animum, qui beneficiorum quæ tot abhinc annis contulisti, firmiter semper religiosèque retinet memoriam. Fateor olim in animo esse, semperque me ab illo favoris tui memori incitari, aliquod tibi meæ gratitudinis specimen offerre, minimèque in hoc distulissem tempus nisi tam ingentia tua in me merita sic deterruissent, ut putaverim me non omnino posse, nisi post diuturniorem in Academiâ moram felicioresque in studiis progressus, aliquid tibi offerre quod videatur illis aliquatenus dignum; et profectò conscius adhuc, quàm minimè possum hoc præstare, diuturniore silentio credo me ingratiè usurum, nisi tuis donis quæ nuper mihi misisti sic prioribus beneficiis recumulâsti nova, ut eligerem potiùs tibi quocunque modo meam proderè tenuitatem, quàm pro his meam gratitudinem ulteriùs non agnoscere, ni, dum meæ tenuitati addam etiam ingratitudinem, duplici nomine fiam tuo favore indignus. Precor igitur ut hæc grati animi officia cādē quā solitus eras in me tua conferre beneficia acciperes benignitate, quæ quanta sunt non aliundè cupio æstimari, nisi quatenus exprimunt meam gratitudinem, quæ qualis sit satis inde apparere potest, quòd eligerem potiùs per hæc, quàm indignus sum tanto tuo favore, apertè indicare, quàm post tot accepta beneficia non præstare. Sed cùm levia hæc non possint exprimere, quanta tibi debeo, gratulor meæ fortunæ me a Decano munere dignum putari, in quo mihi data est occasio, etiam per industriam

ulteriùs indicare, quanto in precio habeo tuum favorem, in quo, quid à nobis actum sit, quamvis à Reverendo viro cui has meas commisi literas possis pleniùs informari, nonnulla tamen immatura mea in illo tentamina, primitiasque lahoris tibi mitto, quæ, quamvis hoc legendi genus quatenus à Decano doctus tuis legibus prohibitum ulteriùs non exerceo; spero tamen ostendent me, si non præstitisse, saltem tentâsse aliquid quod in aliorum utilitatem tuumque honorem conduxisse videatur. Hæc quæliacunque sunt tibi humiliter offero, quæ tamen prius fuere tua, speroque me per illa aliquatenus indicare quantum cupio per omnia grati animi officia videri semper esse tui favoris studiosissimus.

HUMPH. PRIDEAUX."

3. "REV. SIR,

Wells, Aug. 28, 81.

It is now a month since I came hither, to Wells; and, having taken some prospect of our church affaires, I thought fitt to let you know how ready I am to execute any of your commands. I find all here in peace; were it not for one dissenting brother, who (I feare) will never be otherwise; and at the last Chapter (as they tell me) flew out, and declared he would never more come to their meeting. I am to try what I can do with him against our next assembling at Michaelmas. The two junior canons (Mr. Dutton and Mr. Sandys) will (I hope) prove usefull men in the church.—Sir, you need not doubt of having right done you the next audit, in respect to your former arreares, when

the desperate debt was so unhandsomely assigned you for payment. As for what Dr. Fane owed you, his wife declares that she hath administered to the summe of many hundreds of pounds beyond what she needed, in paying severall debts more than she was bound to : one and twenty pounds (as I thinke I formerly told you) she acknowledgeth to be due to you, and hath given in to the church a remnant of her husband's bookes, in lieu of that summe ; which (it seemes) the Canons thought best to lay hold of, whilst they were to be had. They are now layd aside in the Audit-house till your pleasure be knowne concerning them : if they be worth that money, I thinke it is the utmost. If you please to have them prized and sold, the money shall be accounted to you. There are severall of them which are not in our library ; which if you please to have added to the catalogue of your beneficence, you will still enlarge the churches obligations to you : the rest may either be exchanged for others which we want, or else sold, as you shall give order. This should have gone by Dr. Creighton, but his Majestyes sudden resolutions for Newmarket hath turned his course immediately that way. I perceive Dr. Holt is very slow in making up his accounts with you, but he saith he will do it speedily. He is now no lesse than 4 yeares behind in paying the augmentation which our church made to the Vicarage of Mudford ; we summoned him lately about it, and he hath promised satisfaction ; as he

hath likewise to James Williams, to whom he hath not yet payd the 5*l*. you were pleased to appoint the last yeare for his paines in overseeing the reparations of your house. I thinke I did then, at the request of Dr. Creighton and other canons, propose to you the entertaining of Mr. Greene for your vicar, who is a man usefull in the Quire, poore, and having divers children. I am now desired to renew the same petition to you: you know, Sir, it is what the Charter requires of us all; and no man ever declined it, but Dr. Fane, toward his latter time, whose nobility privileged him to do any thing that was ignoble.

I hope the next dividend (by helpe of Sir John Sydenham's fine, when it comes,) will give encouragement to all your charitable intentions; and if you designe any thing to be distributed to the poore, here is Mr. Hobs, an old poore vicar, whose wife now lyes at charge for the use of the bath, desires me humbly to recommend his case to you. In whatsoever you please to command me, I am,
Rev. Sir, your most faithfull and obedient servant,

RA. BATHURST."

4. "SIR, *Ch. Ch. Oxon, Jan. 13, 86.*

THE Common Prayer Bookes, and Explications of the Church Catechisme, which I bestowed as your guift on the children in St. Peter's parish, according to your orders transmitted to me by Dr. Hickman, were acknowledged by their parents with such affectionate expressions of gratitude to-

wards you, for that addition to your greater bounty, annually dispensed to your Lecturer on their behalfe and for their benefit ; that I esteemed myself obliged bound to return theirs, together with my own most humble thanks to you, for the continuance of your generous charity to them, and most obliging favours to my selfe. I have found so good effects of it on the children themselves, in an apparent forwardness, and ingenuous emulation who shall give the most perfect account of the catechisme before the congregation, and in bringing their bookes with them to church, and repeating distinctly the responses throughout the whole Divine Service, as emboldens me to sollicite your farther charity to be bestowed on Bibles, or what other good practicall bookes of Christianity you shall please particularly to appoint, for those who are more adult ; and on Explications of the Church Catechisme and Common Prayer Bookes, as before, for the younger sort, who want them. If you shall be pleased by any hand to send me your commission for this purpose, I will faithfully and punctually observe your instructions. I will go on to do my best endeavour to establish that people in a sound beliefe of the Articles of Christian Religion ; and to prevail on them to shew the sincerity of their faith, by a sober, righteous, and godly conversation.

That God would be pleased long to continue you in health and prosperity, as a most eminent instru-

ment of his glory, and great public good to this church and kingdome; and hereafter reward your labors and charity with eternall happiness in the life to come, shall ever be the most hearty prayer of, Sir, your most faithfull, and most humble servant,

RICHARD OLD."

EXTRACTS FROM VEITCH AND BRYSSON'S MEMOIRS.*

IN the Memoirs of William Veitch, we find the incidents of the life of a Presbyterian minister during fifty years of the conclusion of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries: in those of George Brysson, we have the adventures of a layman, a merchant in Edinburgh, of the same religious principles, during nearly the same period. Both are curious, though not equally so; for Veitch's account of persecutions, escapes, treasons, &c. &c. as a Covenanter, are only possessed of moderate interest, till he finally settled in quietness at Dumfries; whereas Brysson's history of his miraculous experiences in favour of the Covenant, is exceedingly well written, and altogether an entertaining piece of biography, illustrated with some as remarkable original matter as was ever, perhaps, given to the public respecting the times of the "Holy League and Covenant," the kirk discipline,

* Written by themselves: with other Narratives illustrative of the History of Scotland, from the Restoration to the Revolution. To which are added, Biographical Sketches and Notes. By Thomas M'Crie, D. D. 8vo. pp. 540. Edinburgh, 1825. Blackwood. London. Cadell.

and the extraordinary state of Scotland at that memorable period. This we will do from the manuscript records of that very parish where Mr. Veitch closed his mortal career, beginning so early as five years before his birth, namely, in 1635, and embracing an epoch of nearly thirty years. Many, most of the entries in the Session Book, are, we regret to say, of a nature not fit for publication; but we trust to be able to quote such a number of them with propriety, as will display a system of general and individual religious inquisition, before which aught that can now be imagined possible of the Roman Catholic church, with its confessions, indulgences, pardons, absolutions, and penalties, must sink into insignificance,—and of assumption of legal and political power equal to what any church, even in the darkest ages, ever ventured to claim.

Dr. M'Crie, in his preface, proves the authenticity of his MSS., and states who are their possessors: but they carry with them sufficient internal testimony of their authenticity. Indeed there is no reason to doubt them; and the only question which arises, is as to their value. Mr. William Veitch was one of a ministerial family; for his father, and two of his brothers, were ministers of the kirk. He was born in 1640, and, in consequence of the struggles of ensuing years, after he reached the age of manhood, became proscribed, and had to fly for his life to Holland; where he re-

mained and preached till the change of events permitted him to return to his native country. Of the "several remarkable providences and singular deliverances, he was trysted with," we shall not follow the thread: suffice it to exemplify them, and his style of telling them, by an extract or two. About the year 1671, while hiding and preaching in the north of England, he says,

"Being prevailed with by that people to bring his family into the north, that he might be some way useful among them, he removed his wife and two sons, William and Samuel, in creels, from Edinburgh into a village called Falalies, farming a piece of ground from Charles Hall, who was owner of that place and village, within the parish of Rodberry in Northumberland. After some years wandering, he had found that lot much embittered with his great and almost continual distance from his wife and family, as also with the great troubles they underwent, (parties of soldiers besetting and breaking up the doors at midnight,) so that he resolved to transport them into Northumberland; neither his affection nor ability serving to carry them farther at that time, he being forfeit life and fortune and all that he had taken from him, except a little they knew not of.

"But they were not well settled there (though in a moorish retired place) when their neighbours of the Romish gang, which abound there, did stir up the Lord Whiterington to mar some small

meetings that he had. It being about the time of the English indulgence, he pretended a commission to apprehend and secure all ministers that had not the king's license, and thinking belike that this stranger had scarce friends or time to procure one of the licenses, he, accompanied with Esquire Thorton, a great Romanist, and several other gentlemen, came to the minister's landlord, whom they sent to see for the license, and finding one, which indeed was come but the preceding day, went away with a great disappointment.

“ This liberty occasioned him to be called five miles farther into the country, and to farm an house suitable to the work, called Harnam-hall, belonging to Major Babington, where the auditory increased daily. The very report made several persons come to see the novelty, and satisfy their curiosity ; of some of whom, it can be said, they went not as they came ; for the profanation of the Sabbath by baking their bread, starching their clothes, mucking their byres, &c. was wonderfully reformed by his preaching on Sabbath sanctification.

“ Likewise many Anabaptists, who keep seventh-day Sabbath, came to hear, and being taken with the ordinances, did also keep our Sabbath, and were punctual attenders. One young gentlewoman who was married to a Presbyterian, after the baptism of her first child, was long under trouble of mind, and confessed that shame kept her long back ; but coming over all at length, stood

up in the congregation, and making a savoury confession of her faith, was baptized—(it was a weeping day, and I think did more good than many sermons)—which did much good in the corner, several following her example. By this and other motives the meeting still increasing, by many who lived at a great distance, they would have come ten miles on the one side, and as far on the other.

“ And here I cannot pass a remarkable story concerning a village called Fenick or Phenwick, about five miles off this meeting, where a godly weaver and his wife lived, who were the scorn of the place for their piety, and used to steal in the back way to their own house ; but being discovered by a number of young men playing at the foot-ball on Sabbath afternoon, they left their game coming to mock them ; but the honest man addressing himself to some of them who were of good age, after he had laid before them the danger of such an open profanation of the Sabbath, he invites three or four of them but to go once along with him and hear sermon, and it might be that they would change their thoughts ; and if they were not persuaded to go again, yet he hoped they might be so far convinced as not any more to mock him for going. These went with him next day, and it pleased the Lord that they got that which made them invite others, and they others, till the most part of the town came ; and family worship, with Sabbath reformation, was so remarkable there, that

it was the talk of the country about, and greatly incensed the clergy.

“ Whilst the bulwark of indulgence continued, he preached peaceably, although some of several offices, professions, and qualities, meanwhile were sharpening their teeth and snarling, which visibly appeared upon the back of that proclamation recalling the liberty. For Sir Thomas Lorrain of Kirkharle, a justice of the peace, being instigated, as is confidently reported by several of his pot companions, the clergymen, did once and again issue out warrants to the high and petty constables of that ward to apprehend him; which proving ineffectual, he, to gain his point, retrieve his credit, and gratify the renewed desires of his forementioned friends, drinking one Saturday afternoon with him in his own house, did solemnly promise that the next Sabbath, which was then very nigh, he would go himself in person and apprehend him, and consequently, once for all, put a stop to that meeting. But not many hours after, if any, he by an unusual mean got his leg broke, so that for many weeks he could not travel: his lady, Sir John Fenwick's sister, calling him out from the instigators to the stair-head, being in a passion, kicked him down stairs for selling four oxen and spending the price of them in drinking.

“ The clergy then resolved to make use of their instruments of death, seeing his were blunted; and that they may be completely furbished and sharpen-

ed effectually to do the work, one Parson Ward of Kirkharle goes up to the chief grinder and polisher at Durham, viz. the bishop, and no doubt returned, as he thought, well armed for the destruction, not only of this, but of other non-conforming ministers and people about: and being so well pleased that the bishop had given him and his brethren about, orders to excommunicate all of them, &c. But being a considerable way off his church on Sabbath (being detained by the parson of Pontiland, who drank all night together) rides so hard to be home in time, that he tired his horse by the way, and not being able to get him on alone, he hires the herdmen of Harnam, the town where this minister lived, to lead him, taking his club to drive him on. But while he is unmercifully (as it is like) beating the poor beast, it doth (without respect had to his coat, the canons, or the orders he carried) smite him violently with his foot upon the cheek bone until the blood gushed out and he fell; and so like the ass in sacred story presaged his unsuccessfulness. The boy that led the horse runs into a lady's house hard by; the old gentlewoman sent out the two servants that waited on her (the rest being at church) with a barrow, and they with the boy carried him in. She dressed his wound, and he lay there several weeks under cure; by which providence their malicious design at that time was disappointed, and I am credibly informed he carries the mark of that stroke to this day.

“After he had preached four years in a hall at Harnam, the house and ground pertaining thereto got a new master, one Thomas Dawson, a roper in Newcastle, who, upon reasons best known to himself, refused to continue this minister his tenant, and thereby that meeting was dissolved; yet he was a dissenter, and his riches melted away afterwards.

“This occasioned his removal to Stantonhall.”

Thus were the Covenanters persecuted; we shall see anon how they deserved it, and how they acquitted themselves in return; and we shall thus learn to feel very little pity for either side, except for their violence, tyranny, and inhumanity.

Sometimes Mr. Veitch flies at higher game than his personal knowledge warrants; witness the following account of the death of Charles the Second.

“Now the king’s business with Allington was this—to take his advice, he being a wise man, and one of his greatest confidants at that time, about what measures he should make use of to prevent the Duke of York and his cabal destroying of him; for he saw now it was inevitably a-coming. To which Allington replied, ‘Sir, you have brought it upon yourself, by your turning out Monmouth out of all his places, especially his command over the guards about your person, and suffering such to be put in who were York’s creatures.’ ‘But what shall I do now,’ said the king? ‘Sir,’ said he, ‘I neither can nor dare advise you in that mat-

ter ; for if it be heard, as likely it will, it may hasten both our ruins.' The king promised solemnly to keep it secret, and would not part with him till he told him, and that he would presently put them in execution ; and whatever befel him he should never discover or wrong Allington ; and they paroled upon it. ' Now,' says he, ' Sir, my advice is this, that seeing within a few weeks the appointed time will be that the Duke of York is obliged to go to Scotland, to hold the next session of his parliament, take care to give him his commission, and send him timeously away ; and when he is there, send for Monmouth, restore him to all his places, and remove from the court all persons that are suspected to favour York's interest, as also out of your guards, and double them. When this is once done, he being in Scotland, we will see then what is farther to be done.'

" This proved a costly advice to them both, for no doubt but there were some overhearing behind the curtain, who told all to York, as appears by the event. A little after, the king sends for his brother, telling him he must make ready to go down for Scotland, the time drawing near for his keeping the next session of their parliament, he would presently expedite his commission, and upon such a day he must take journey. At which discourse the duke seemed to be much displeased, telling his majesty it was a thing he could not at all undertake at this juncture ; for he having a great trade

at Calais and other foreign places, and many years' accounts to clear with these foreign factors, wherein he and other great merchants in the city were concerned, being now upon their journey, he must needs stay to clear with them, and therefore desired earnestly to be excused. To which the king replied, 'James, either you must go, or I must go.' And speaking these words with a kind of question, the duke as briskly replied, 'He would not go;' and so took his leave. Then going home, and calling his friends and cabal, he told them what passed; and that he perceived the king resolved to follow Allington's measures. After which, his cabal he trusted in, resolved among themselves, that they would go to their houses, and put themselves in such a posture as that they might return within so many hours; no doubt, to such a secret place where they might sit without parting, until they had defeated the king's resolutions, and brought their purposes, if possible, to the intended issue. And if the information be true, which the event seems to make probable, they all unanimously resolved to begin with Allington, and see if they could take him off by poison; which they did by bribing his cook and master-household; which took place, and, if my memory fail not, says the relator, he either died on the Friday's night or morning. For York had a spy to tell him so soon as ever his breath went out; and the cabal resolved, that if the business took, the Duke of York should

be the first that should carry the news to the king, lamenting such a heavy loss, to blind the matter: And it is said that he made such haste, for fear any should be before him, that he ran to the court at the nightest, with one of his shoes down in the heel, and one of his stockings untied. Yet he was prevented, for one of my lord's servants had just come in before him, and told that his master was dead suddenly, and undoubtedly poisoned. York coming in in the mean time, not hearing this, made his lamentation that Allington, his friend, was dead; a very sad stroke to the court. 'Aye,' says the king, 'and his servant thinks he was poisoned: I wish you have not a hand in it, of which, if I were sure, you should presently go to the Tower; for I am like to be next.' But the duke intréating his majesty to have no such thoughts, and acknowledging his fault in refusing to go to Scotland at their last meeting, said, he was now resolved to comply with his majesty's commands, and take journey next week for Scotland, come of his business what would: and therefore desired his majesty to expedite his commission next week, that he might not be hindered. Now these were the words that he and his cabal had concerted further to blind the king withal, that so they might better effectuate their next resolution.

"The king believing him to speak seriously, and that he might yet accomplish what Allington had advised him, when the Duke was gone for

Scotland, ordered his commission to be instantly drawn; that he might go down to hold the foresaid parliament. In the meantime the Duchess of Portsmouth, his present miss or whore, that the king of France had sent him, and who influenced him as she pleased to the French measures, not being pleased with the Duke of York's maltreating the king in refusing to go to Scotland, his cabal thought fit that the Duke should go to her and acknowledge his rashness with the King, and beg that she would interpose for their amicable reconciliation, which she promised to do; and telling her that, he being to go away upon Monday or Tuesday next to obey his Majesty's commands in Scotland, the best way and time to do it was to sup with her grace on Sabbath night, and she might invite any of the court there that she thought fit; to which she consented. When he came back, and told his cabal what was done, they said, 'Then our business is like to do.' So they ordered the Duke to send a good quantity of all sorts of wines and good liquors, especially claret, which the King loved; that so she might be induced to entertain them liberally and long that night. And the King being sotted with drink, it being usual in such a case, to drink a good deal of coffee for a cure, they had liberally bribed his coffee-man, to poison his coffee; and some of York's faction, in that case, when he was so drunk, was to advise the Duchess to keep him all night, to save him the trouble of going to his

own room. Likewise knowing that, in the morning, when he first awaked, he made use of much snuff, they hired the Duchess's chambermaid to put in the poisoned snuff into his box, and take out what was in it before. And so, nothing doubting but their design now would take place, they ordered a spy to give an account of his carriage when he awaked, timeously, before any of the court should know it. When he awaked he cried out 'he was deadly sick,' and calling for his snuff-box, he took a deal of it; but still growing worse, he sent for his servants to put on his clothes, which when they were doing, he staggered. So he got to the window, and leaned upon it, crying, 'I'm gone, I'm poisoned; have me quickly into my chamber.'

"The Duke, getting notice, came running in haste, all undrest, to lament his brother's fate, saying, 'Alas! Sir, what's the matter?' who answered, 'O, you know too well,' and was in great passion at him. In the mean time he called for his closet-keeper to fetch him out an antidote against poison, that a German mountebank had given him, and assured him it would instantly cure him whenever he suspected it; but it could not be found, neither his physicians, being, as it was thought, sent out of town. When he saw all these things fail him, being enraged at his brother, he made at him; but he having secured all the entries of the court, that the sentry should tell, if any courtiers or bishops, upon the news, should offer to

come in to see how the King was. They were to tell them that he was gone to bed out of order, and had discharged all access to him, that he might be quiet. And in the mean time the Duke, seeing him in such a rage, and that the poison was not like to do so quickly, set four ruffians upon him; at which he crying out so as he was heard, they presently choked him in his cravat, and so beat him in the head that he instantly died. It is said that his head swelled bigger than two heads; and also that his body stunk so with the poison and other things, that none could stay in the room. And it is said, that in the dead of the night they were forced to carry him out and bury him *incognito*.

“ However the room was kept quiet, that none had access to the supposed sick King, as if he had been lying still in bed. None was admitted to that room but those who were true friends to York, who made the people believe he was still alive, but dangerously ill. And when his council met, and had concerted what measures to follow upon the supposition of his death, (an embargo being laid upon all ships for that time, that none might carry abroad the rumour of his sickness,) then they gave out the news of his being just now dead toward the latter of the week; and, as they had concerted in council, the Duke of York was proclaimed King.”

With Bryson's Memoirs we shall, as with Veitch's, content ourselves by extracting a few spe-

cimens, in order to introduce an original illustration, to shew

The Discipline of the Church of Scotland about Two Hundred Years ago.

The records are those of Dumfries.

“ 10 Decr. 1635. Adam Nesbit is ordained to pay 20 shillings to the poor, for not haunting the church.

“ 28 April, 1636. In the slander, Aitken, shoemaker, ag^t Dickson, shoemaker : the Session conceiving the points of the Bill to be criminal, have enacted the said Aitken, under the pain of 40 pounds, to pursue the said Dickson for Theft ; and that within 40 days, otherwise he shall be repute as the slanderer. [Thus the church got into secular and legal affairs.]

“ 8 July, 1636. The Lady Elshishields, the Lady Craigs, Marion Geddes, Arch^d. Beattie, Rob. M'Blair, and his whole household, ordained to be summoned for not haunting the church.

“ 27 Oct. Anent the general outcry of the *honest* people of this town, concerning the great oversight that is committed by many, in setting of houses to idle persons, having no lawful vocations or callings, but filching and purloining other folks' goods, as stealing of their corns, peats, truffs, &c. For remeid whereof, the Session have nominate and appointed certain *honest* men of their number, to search through all the quarters of the town, if any such persons can be deprehended, and having

found them, that they shall delate them *to the Session*. [Thus the civil power and police is assumed.]

“Compeared Marg^t. Newland for being in *suspect* places with Alex^r. Gibson; (she notwithstanding being enact of her own consent, never to come in any suspect place with the said Alex^r.) is ordained to sit ane day in the pillar publicly.

“In the slander, James Wilson ag^t. Agnes Douglas, she is convict, and ordained to crave his forgiveness *on her knees*, and to pay 40 shillings to the poor.

“In the slander, Marg^t. Gordon ag^t. Marg^t. Tait, because of the probation *being slender*, Tait is ordained only *to sit down on her knes* in the Session house, and crave Gordon's forgiveness, in respect Tait *purged herself by her great oath* that she never uttered any such words, she is then assolizied.

“Arch^d. Stewart, several times summoned, if he disobey again, the minister is appointed to excommunicate him.

“1637. Compears John Fleming, who being accused for cohabiting with Sarah Carlyle, is ordained, under the pain of 20 libs. not only to abstain from her company in suspect places, but likewise to thrust her out of his house, and in the meantime she is ordained to remain in the Tolbooth.

“Adam Cunningham for adultery is ordained to appear before the *Presbytery* in *Sackcloth*, and there confess his fault, and thereafter be remitted to the

Session. John Black for the same offence to sit *seven sabbaths in sackcloth*, and the first and last to stand *barefooted* at the church door, between the second and the last bell.

“ Thomas Meik, for slandering Agnes Fleming is ordained *instantly to stand in the gorgets at the Trone* till 12 o'clock, and thereafter, upon *his bare knees*, to ask her forgiveness at the *mercat crosse*.

“ Janet Jardine is enacted under the pain of 20 libs never to be henceforth heard *scolding*.

“ James Maxwell, Messenger, undertook to present his wife for not communicating [taking the sacrament] next week : [others are ordered to communicate ; others fined for not doing so ; and the nearest relations are compelled to give up each other.]

“ Compeared the Lady Middlebie, who being challenged for not communicating, alledged she *was sick that day*. Notwithstanding of this her *frivolous excuse*, she is ordained to go to the New Abbey, to the communion, and there communicate, with certification if she fail; the Presbyterie will go on with *the excommunication* against her. [Others are ordered in the same manner, otherwise they are held to be affected to Popery.]

“ Bessie Grier, for fornication, is ordained to remove out of the town [banished.] James Maxwell, brother to Drumcoultram, to sit three Sabbaths in the Pillar, and pay ane dollar to the poor.

“ Compeared Peter Moffat, with his wife and mo-

ther in law, and the whole Session challenging his mother in law, that *she had enticed, at least used means for diverting her daughter's affection from the said Peter, this langtyme bygane*, she is ordayned to go to jayle, aye and while she find caution to make her daughter cohabit with her own husband.

1638. February. Compeared Janet Maxwell, spouse to Palmerland, accused of adultery with John Home of Dalswinton, the whole Session, *upon weighty reasons*, have simpliciter voted her purgation ; and withall she is enacted, of her own consent, that in case she shall be deprehended or found with the said John in any suspect [suspicious] place, it shall be reputed and holden as confessed adultery. [These were persons of the highest rank under nobility.]

“ R. Anderson, accused of associating with Marg^t. Milligan, is *ordayned to go to jayle, till he give satisfaction to the church*. Every one of the inhabitants of Kelton is fined 6 shillings for every day's absence from the church, toties quoties.

“ Marcus Loch, for his disorderly manner of marriage in England, contrary to the discipline of the Kirk, is fined 40 libs, and James Horner for accompanying him to *witness his marriage*, is ordained to confess his error on the Pillar.

“ 1640, January. It is statute and ordained, by the common consent of the Whole Session, That None Inhabitant in this Town, reset, or take into thar house, Nurses to give their Children Suck ;

unless they bring with them *famous* Testimonials, under the hand of the Minister where they did reside, that they have fully satisfied the Church and Ordinances ; otherwise they are hereby discharged at any entry.

“ John M’Ghie is acted, under the pain of *banishment*, to dishaunt the company of Agnes Welsh.

“ July. John M’Courtie, remitted by the Presbytery to the censure of this Session, for his often falling into sin with Isobel Wright. They both are ordayned to resort to *the Pillar in sackcloth* the ensuing Sabbath, and there in face of the whole congregation *cancel and destroy the paper which they brought from England of their unlawful marriage*, and disclaim the same, and for ever dishaunt her company. [Here we have an English marriage punished as a crime, and a peremptory divorce pronounced.] Again,

“ John Maxwell, *one of the Elders of the Session*, for accompanying his brother, Adam Maxwell, and Agnes Sharp, *over the march, to their unlawful way of marriage*, contrair to the church discipline of this Kirk, is removed off the Session by the voice of the whole members thereof, and ordained to pay *20 pounds to the poor*.

“ James Ferguson, merchant, for going over the March with Isobel Morison to Sir Abimelech - - - parson of Rowcliffe, contrair *to the national covenant of this Kirke and kingdome*, is ordayned to sit

one day in the Pillar, and declare before the congregation his *gross offence*; and pay an 100 pounds to the poor.

“1641. Marion M’Brair, for a fourth fault in departing from virtue, is ordayned to be *carted through the town, and banished*. T. Kirkpatrick, for a like offence, *long before his marriage*, is ordayned to *ask God’s forgiveness privately* in the Session house, and to pay 40 shillings. Bessie Black, third offence, to sit six Sabboths *and on the Cross in the Jougs*. Agnes Blunt, known to be a vile . . . , is ordayned to be taken to jayle, and from thence to be conveyed out of this town by the officers; and in case, henceforth, she shall be found within the towne, she, of her own consent, *embraced scourging*.

“January 28. The Session resenting the great slackness and remissness of several persons in resorting to God’s house, but more especially these of the Landwart parish, have for remeid thereof, statute and ordained that every gentleman of note in the parish shall pay, for every day’s absence from the kirk, 30 shillings, toties quoties; every burgess 12 shillings; and every farmer or servant 4 shillings, toties quoties.

“March, 1642. Euphane Thomson and Janet Johnson, servants, for scolding each other, are to be put into the Jougs [a sort of pillory, with an iron ring for the neck] presently.

“Agnes Welsh is hereby enacted, that if any

time she shall *be heard to scold or upbraid* Andrew Stewart, or his wife, the Lady Middlebie, with any contumelious speeches, *or waiting at their windows in the night*, ipso facto, she is content *to embrace banishment*. [Banishment for such an offence as scolding or upbraiding is a strong measure.]

“ John Clerk, taylor, for being observed *to shave sundry of this burgh on the Lord's Day in the morning*, is commanded that henceforwards he be not found in the like breach of the Lord's Day, under the penalty of *ten punds*. [A woman for ‘gathering cale,’ cabbage, is likewise fined and set in the pillar.]

“ 1643. Robert Smith, called *Kilroy*, for habitual *cursing and drunkenness*, to declare his repentance publicly the next Sabbath; and is enacted, under *the pain of banishment*, not to be found in the like sins.”

1644. A man and his wife, for slander, are sentenced to stand at the Kirk Style *with the branks in their mouths*, &c.

This year May-games are forbidden, and in 1645, we find the following characteristic entry:—

“ Thursday, 19 June. Dorothy Herries and Marion Hairson, for going to *St. Jargon's Well* on the first Sunday in May, in ane superstitious way, to fetch the waters thereof, are ordayned to acknowledge their offence, on Sunday, in the body of the kirk.

“ 1646, August 27. Compeared David Alexan-

der, with Helen Yeaman his wife: and the said David having *conceived a jealousy* betwixt Cha^r. Edgar, merchant, and the said Helen, *required the oath of the said Charles, &c.* who being deeply sworn, deponed *negative*. And the said David is enacted, under the pain of 20 punds, not to cast up any such thing to his spouse henceforth. And also, the said Charles is enacted, under the like pain, to dishaunt the woman's company, in any case.

Nathaniel Baillie, for *slandering the whole town*, in sundry naughtie and base expressions, in averring *that he was too highly stented* [rated] in public burdens, is ordained to stand in the pillar, and pay 40 shillings!

Ja^c. Hitchcon, merchant, confessed his *gross fault in drinking James Graham's health*, is ordained to acknowledge his offence *upon his knees* in the Session House, and to pay a dollar to the poor.

" 1647. The Minister is to intimate on Sunday next, that whatsoever person shall reset or entertain any fornicator or delinquent in that kind (after acknowledging of their fault, and censure,) shall pay X merks, toties quoties.

" By Ordinance of the Synod of Dumfries, It is to be intimated out of all the pulpits therein, That the persons after-written are *Excommunicate*, and *that none reset them, nor resort to them, without license of the Presbyteries or other Kirk Judicatories*,

upon evidence of necessar and just cause, *asked and given*, under peril of *Ecclesiastic Censures*: They are to say, John Lord Heries; Dame Elizabeth Beaumont, Countess of Nithisdail; Dame Elizabeth Maxwell, Lady Heries, Elder; Elizabeth Maxwell, Ladie Kirkonnell, Elder; Helen Maxwell, Lady Mabie, Elder; James Maxwell, of Kirkonnell, alias, Master of Maxwell; James Lindsay of Auchenskeoch, Elder; John Lindsay his oye; Roger Lindsay of Maynes; Fras. Lindsay, his brother; Cuthbert Browne, brother in law to Maynes; Gilbt. Browne of Backbie; Wm. and Robt. Maxwells, brothers to the Laird of Conhaith; ——— Maxwell, sister to Umq^{le} Sir John Maxwell, of Conhaith; Agnes and Jannet Maxwells his daughters; Marion Maxwell, Ladie Auchinfranco; Grizel Geddes, Gudwyfe of Drumcoltran, Elder; John Little; John Maxwell, called Captain John; Elspeth Heries, Gudwyfe of Crochmore; Margaret A. Hannay in Xirkgunzeon; Effie Beattie, sometime in Colledge; Wm. Thomson and his Wyfe, in Traqueer; John Maxwell of Mylnestone, alias, John of Logane; John Glendynnyng, of Parton; Rob. M'Lellan of Nuntone; Elizabeth Young, Relict of Dr. Honeyman; Isabel Honeyman, daughter to the said Dr. Honeyman.

“Thursday, 29 April. *The Session give liberty to Mr. John Corsan and Mr. Cuthbert Cunninghame to speak with the Lord Heries, notwithstanding he be excommunicate: In respect they both have sundrie*

business of good—w^t his Lordship. And withall they are admonished to refrain their wonted freedom in drinking, with certification, if they do in the contrair, they shall make answer.

“Likewise grants the same liberty to Rob^t. Newall anent his affairs with Maynes and John Maxwell of Mylnestone.”

With this remarkable example of the high powers assumed by the Covenanters in the day of their ascendancy (two years before the death of Charles I.) we shall conclude; adding only one other instance of the exercise of an authority reaching the penalty of death, and making a child answerable for the appearance of his own parent.

“23d Sepr. Compeared Catherine Geddes, upon Tweed, and became acted *under the pain of DEATH*, that he shall be forthcoming to *this session upon demand*, and not escape off this Towne, *for alledged concealing the parents of ane chyld which was brought to her house; whereof she did not acquaint the session: and William Sinclair, her son, is acted to present his mother!*”

It may be observed, that during the twelve years embraced by these extracts, there occur about three proclamations of marriage by bans; while not a week passes without pains being inflicted for adultery, &c. In hundreds of cases the marriages result from previous intercourse. Offences at the distance of five or more years are raked up for kirk censure, and fine, and imprisonment.

We read of ministers, elders, and commissioners to regiments; and the currency seems to have been of a very mixed character, such as angells of gold,

merks (not a coin, we believe) pounds, dollars, shillings, &c. &c.

**REPORT of SEARCHES for ORIGINAL RECORDS and
MANUSCRIPT-COPIES of CHARTERS & STATUTES
preserved in the UNIVERSITIES, CATHEDRALS,
and other public REPOSITORIES in ENGLAND,
made by the RECORD COMMISSION.**

THE searches of the sub-commissioners for originals, records, and manuscript-copies of charters and statutes, were made at the following places; viz.

1. Winchester.	7. Lichfield.	13. Ely.
2. Salisbury.	8. Carlisle.	14. Peterborough.
3. Wells.	9. Durham.	15. Norwich.
4. Gloucester.	10. York.	16. Oxford.
5. Hereford.	11. Lincoln.	17. Rochester.
6. Worcester.	12. Cambridge.	18. Canterbury.

1. *Winchester*.—Searches were made, as well at the college as the cathedral, but no originals, records, or manuscripts, were found.

2. *Salisbury*.—No originals, records, or manuscript transcripts of statutes, were found in the cathedral at this place. Of the original charter of King John, referred to by Tyrrell and Burnett as existing*, no trace or memory is now preserved here.

3. *Wells*.—Among several manuscript instruments preserved in the cathedral (which are nu-

* See Blackstone's Charters, 8vo. pp. xxvii. xxxiv.

merous and well kept, and relate chiefly to the chapter,) was discovered an exemplification or transmiss of the *Sententia Excommunicationis in Transgressores Cartarum*, A.D. 1253, 37th Hen. III. with the labels, and some fragments of the seals of the archbishop and bishops by whom it passed. In the return to the Committee of the House of Commons on the Public Records in 1800*, this is incorrectly mentioned as "A Confirmation of Magna Carta, A.D. 1263." Blackstone does not advert to any original or exemplification of this sentence, as known by him to be in existence; but states†, that "many copies of it are extant in Matthew Paris, &c. and most of the ancient manuscript collections of statutes in public libraries, no two of which in all points agree." The copy in his edition is given from what he considered as the most authentic extant, the coeval entry in the Red Book of the Exchequer at Westminster, "which yet (he adds) is not without its inaccuracies." One material variation occurs between this exemplification and other copies. Among the witnesses 'J. Comit̃is War' is written 'J. Comit̃is Warwyk;' all translations have interpreted the abbreviation as John Earl of Warren. There is also preserved here an exemplification of the statute, which is printed by Hawkins, Cay, and subsequent editors; as a statute of 3 Edw. II. *Super pr̃isis bonorum*

* See Reports from the Committee, p. 341.

† See his edition of the Charters, 8vo. p. lxxxii.

Cleri. This exemplification confirms the date given to the instrument in the oldest printed editions, viz. 24th November, in the 10th year of Edw. II. and explains the teste in the entry on the Tower Roll, "*Teste Rege ut supra.*" An exemplification of the statute, 15 Edw. III. st. 1, preserved here, is incorrectly stated in the return* as a confirmation of Magna Carta, 1 Edw. III. This exemplification agrees in some instances with the Statute Roll, and in others with the Parliament Roll, where they differ from each other.

4. *Gloucester.*—The manuscript volume (noticed as No. 1, in the return from the dean and chapter of Gloucester to the Record Committee†,) contains two registers, with titles of the contents prefixed to each: the first of these registers is intituled, "Registrum de donaconibz & confirmaconibz diversoz Regum Anglie & Comitū, de cartis collectis anno d'ni milmo ccc^{mo} nonagesimo septimo p' Dñm Walterum Froucestre, Abbatem Sc'i Pef Gloucestrie." This register consists of lxiiij. folios, and contains entries of the following instruments; but none of the originals are now remaining in the archives of the cathedral:—

"Fo. xxvij. & seq.; No. 80 and 81.—Confirmation of Magna Carta and Carta de Foresta, 12 Oct. 25 Edw. I. as on the Statute Roll. Fo. xxxij.; No. 82.—Magna Carta 1 (or 2)

* Rep. Rec. p. 341.

† Idem, p. 335.

Henry III. very similar to that given by Blackstone from the original in the Bodleian, and like that without a date.

Fo. xxxv. ; No. 83.—Magna Carta Johannis.

Fo. xlv. ; No. 91.—Statute of Marlborough."

The other of these registers is intituled, "Registrum p'tinens ad eccl'ias Sc'i Pet' Gloucestrie & ad eaꝝ cap' ellas cū eaꝝ Rectoriis, Vicariis, pensionibꝝ, poꝛcoibꝝ, libitꝝ, & sn'iis [sententiis] p' Dñm W. Froucestre Abbat' aº do' mº ccclxxxiiij." This consists of lxxxvij. folios, but does not contain any article applying to the purposes of the Record Commission.

5. *Hereford*. — 6. *Worcester*. — 7. *Lichfield*. — 8. *Carlisle*.—No originals, records, or manuscripts of statutes or charters, have been discovered in the cathedrals at either of these places.—At Hereford the manuscripts are very numerous and well preserved, but not well arranged. A further search when they are better arranged may be desirable.—At Worcester is a manuscript volume of little value, containing a very incorrect transcript of the Magna Carta of Henry III. and other old statutes.—At Lichfield, in a manuscript catalogue, intituled "Tabula omnium Instrumentorum & Archivorum in hoc Registro remanentium," appears the following entry, "Excommunicatio Violatorum Ecclesie Libertatum, 1253." This must mean the *Sententia lata*, 37 Henry III. but the instrument is

not now to be found. It was probably of the same nature and authenticity as that discovered at Wells; and this affords evidence that the sentence was transmitted to the several cathedrals in the kingdom. The catalogue above mentioned is a complete alphabetical list or calendar of all the endowments of the several churches in the diocese, and of other deeds and instruments relating to ecclesiastical matters.—The ancient manuscript chartulary of the abbey of Wetherall, at Carlisle*, does not contain any entries of public charters or statutes.

9. *Durham*.—Many original charters are preserved in the archives of the dean and chapter of this cathedral. An index, intituled “Repertorium Magnum Eccle Cathedralis Dunelm Papalium, Regalium, Archi-Ep̃alium, Pontificalium, & Specialium; Fac̃ circa annum 1456, Rõ Nevile Ep̃o, Joh̃e Burnby Prior,” refers very accurately to the different boxes or drawers in which the charters are kept; each box or drawer being divided into two or more compartments, and the instruments contained in each compartment being regularly numbered. It also refers (but not with perfect accuracy) to the entries of these charters in three ledger books, lettered “Cart^m I.”—“Cart^m II.”—and “Cart^m III.” This Repertorium refers to the following instruments, as being in the second of

* See Rep. Rec. p. 343.

the boxes containing the royal charters, and in the first and second compartments or divisions:—

“Prima Sc̃de Regalium :

Carte Henrici Tertii Reg̃ Anglie :

Libertas tocius regni—2^a. Carta ejusdem tocius regni. C. 211. Cart. 1. 194. B. 1.”

This is the Magna Carta 9th Henry III. which was collated for Blackstone with the copy printed by him from the charter of this date in possession of Mr. Talbot. It has the great seal appendant.—Notwithstanding the accident which happened to this charter*, it is perfectly legible, except in the instance of a few words, which can be supplied from the ledger book of the chapter, Cart^m I.

“Magna Carta—3^a. Copia Magne Carte ejusdem s3 diversa fia. C. 209. Cart. III. 209. C. I.”

This is the charter, 12 Nov. 1 Henry III. printed by Blackstone. The seals are lost.

“Carta geñal̃ de Forestis—4^a. Carta generalis tocius regni & p^lmo de Forest̃.

Signata sigill̃ legat̃ & W. Comit̃.
C. III. 211. D, 1.

This is the earliest *Carta de Foresta*, granted in the 2d year of Henry III. ; of which Blackstone supposes†, “that the original, and all authentic

* See Blackstone's Charters, p. lxxi. note 7.

† Introduction to his Charters, p. lxxv.

records of it are at present lost." On an arrangement of the charters at Durham, about sixty years since, it was not found in its proper drawer, and it has ever since been considered as lost. But on a diligent search now made, it was found in a box in a closet in the chapter room, among several deeds relating to the possessions of the chapter. The seal of the legate is remaining more perfect than that to the Magna Carta of this year in the Bodleian: but of the Earl of Pembroke's seal only the label remains.

The latter part of this charter is mutilated by time or accident, but the deficiencies can be supplied from entries in the Book X. of the Exchequer at Westminster, and also from the *Liber Niger* of Christ church, Dublin, and the Domesday Book in York cathedral. The discovery of this charter seems material to the completion of Blackstone's History of the Charters. It is remarkable that the clause inserted in Lord Lyttleton's Roll* appears in this charter.

"Carta de Forestis — 5^a. Carta ejusdem generalis totius regni de Forestis, C. 211, E. 1."

This is the *Carta de Foresta*, 9 Hen. III. printed by Blackstone. It has the great seal appendant.

"Sc̄da Sc̄de Regalium :

Cartæ Edwardi pⁱmi Regis Anglie :

* See Blackstone's Charters, p. lxxiv. note w; and p. lxxviii. note z.

1^a. Carta Edwardi Primi Regis de Magna Carta, & scribitur in Gallico, de lib^tatib³ Archiepⁱis, Epⁱis, Abbatib³, & Baronibu³ cōcess^{is} ab Edwardo Rege nobili filio Hērici 1^{ci}. A. 1. Magna Carta in Gallico.”

This is a copy or exemplification under the great seal (which remains appendant) of the whole of the stat. 28 Edw. I. usually called “Articuli super Cartas.” Blackstone has not noticed this.

“2^a. Carta ejusdⁱ; & est eadem cū p^ore, s^z ista est in Latinis, de lib^tatib³ cōcessis Archiepⁱis, Epⁱis, Comitib³, Baronib³, Abbatib³, P^orib³, ab Edw^o nobili filio Regⁱ Hen. III. C. 219. B. 1. Magna Carta in Latinis.”

This is an exemplification under the great seal (which remains appendant) of the *inspeximus* and confirmation of Magna Carta, 28 Mar. 28 Edw. I. Blackstone has not noticed this.

“8^a. Confirmação ejusdem sup^r Cartā Hērici 1^{ci} de Forest. C. 220. H. I. Carta de Forestis.”

This is the exemplification under the great seal (remaining appendant) of the *inspeximus* and confirmation of the *Carta de Foresta*, 28 March, 28 Edw. I. collated for Blackstone, with the original of the *Carta de Foresta*, 9 Hen. III.

Such of the foregoing charters as were printed by Blackstone, (or cited by him) were not exa-

mined by himself. They were printed by him in words at length, although the original charters are full of contractions; some inaccuracies and imperfections were therefore unavoidable.

10. *York*.—An ancient ledger or chartulary is preserved in the cathedral here (written apparently about the time of Edw. III. or Richard II.) and is called Domesday Book. It is not noticed in the return to the Record Committee*. It contains entries of charters and grants relating to the possessions of the cathedral. The only articles of a public nature which appear in it are the following:

“Fo. 11. Magna Carta, 12 Nov. 1 Hen. III.

“Fo. 13. Magna Carta 1 (or 2) Hen. III. not dated.

“Fo. 15. Carta Regis Henrici de Foresta 1 (or 2) Henry III. not dated.”

11. *Lincoln*.—An original charter of king John is preserved in the archives of the dean and chapter of this cathedral, as stated in the return to the Record Committee†.

This charter, from the repository in which it has so long remained, and other circumstances, appears deserving to be considered in a superior light to either of those preserved in the British Museum. From cotemporary indorsements of the word *Lincolnia* on two folds of the charter, it may be presumed to be the exemplification transmitted

* Rep. Rec. p. 332.

† Idem, p. 337.

to Lincoln by the hands of Hugh, the then bishop, who is one of the bishops named in the introductory clause. This charter is very fairly written, and it is observable that some words and sentences, which in both the charters preserved in the British Museum are inserted by way of notes for amendment at the bottom, are here fairly inserted in the body of the charter.

In the library are several manuscript volumes, one of which contains a collection of the charters, and some old statutes of no importance. Unfortunately all these manuscript volumes have been mutilated by cutting out the illuminated letters.

12. *Oxford*.—At the Bodleian the several manuscripts mentioned in the return to the Record Committee* in 1800, were examined, and also some others not noticed in that return. The Magna Carta 1 (or 2) Henry III. preserved in this library, and printed from thence by Blackstone, as also the charter of Confirmation, 21 Henry III. also printed by Blackstone, are preserved here. But the charter of 29 Edward I. stated by Blackstone to be preserved here, and of which he printed a copy with an engraving of the seal, was not found on the present search. Nor could any such be found at Christ Church, although it is stated by Blackstone that one of those charters is there preserved.

Two manuscripts, not noticed in the return made in the year 1800, seem deserving of some attention.

* See Rep. Rec. p. 348.

The first (Hatton 10, No. 4135,) is a very large folio volume, written on vellum or parchment, in one uniform handwriting, apparently of the time of Henry VII. containing the statutes from Magna Carta 9 Henry III. (copied from the *Insuperimus*, 28 March, 28 Edward I.) down to the end of the eleventh year of Henry VII. the whole very fair, and preceded by an alphabetical index. One peculiar feature of this manuscript is, its containing the whole body of the statutes, as well previous as subsequent to the first of Edward III. a circumstance not hitherto met with in any other manuscript collection; the collections of the *Antiqua Statuta*, (previous to Edward III.) and the *Nova Statuta*, (beginning 1 Edward III. "Come Hugh le Despencer," &c.) are entirely distinct from each other.

But the most remarkable circumstance relating to this manuscript, is its coincidence with Mr. Petyt's manuscript in the Inner Temple library, in giving the statutes of Richard III. and of the first and third years of Henry VII. in French, as from a Statute Roll. The Petyt manuscript ends with the third year of Henry VII. and therefore leaves in doubt the precise period at which the making up of the Statute Roll in French entirely ceased; but in the present manuscript the statutes of the fourth year of Henry VII. are in English, immediately following the third year in French. This seems to afford more precise evidence of the actual period of this change than has hitherto been ob-

tained. It is observable that the Statute Roll of the Irish parliament, 8 Henry VII. preserved at the Rolls-Office in Dublin, is in French. On the Statute Roll of the two next parliaments of Ireland, 16 and 24 Henry VII. the introductory paragraphs stating the holding of the parliament, &c. are in Latin; after which follows an act or chapter confirming the liberties of the church and the realm (*terre d'Irland*) in French; and all the other acts of the session in English.

The other manuscript in the Bodleian library (No. 1036) consists of eleven small rolls of parchment, not much more than four inches wide, but being two feet or more in length. The writing appears of the time of Edward I. or early in the reign of Edward II. The copy is extremely fair, and seems to have been made with great care and accuracy. At the end of the last roll is written, "Sum Roberti Dacres Interiores Templi A^o 1533. Et modo W. Fletewode Record A^o 1589." One of these rolls contains the "Capitulum Statutorum," and the other ten the following statutes, &c.; viz. "Magna Carta and Carta de Foresta, 9 Henry III. (from Inspeximus of 28th March, 28 Edward I.); Sententia lata, 37 Henry III.; Novi Articuli, (*i. e.* Articuli super Cartas, 28 Edward I.); Provisions of Merton; Stat. Marlbridge; Westm. 1.; Gloucester; Explanations of Gloucester; Westm. 2; Westm. 3; De Religiosis; De Mercatoribus, 13 Edward I.; De Finibus; Stat. Winton; Districciones Scaccarii; Circumspecte Agatis; De Biga-

mis; De Vocatis ad Warantiam; and Compositio Monetæ.

At Oriel College are preserved two original charters of Inspeximus, 28 Edward I. These were compared with the copy printed by Blackstone, in which some errors were discovered.

13. *Cambridge.*—*In the library of the University.*—On examination of the manuscripts in this library, cited in Blackstone's Charters*, viz. "E. e. 1. 1.; E. e. 2. 19.; H. h. 3. 11.; and L. 1. 1. 10. & 4. 18," they appear to be collections of old statutes, beginning with Magna Carta and Carta de Foresta, but all apparently very incorrect, and little deserving any notice. In H. h. 3. 11. the Carta de Foresta is from the exemplification of 25 Edward I. L. 1. 4. 18. is dated 15th Nov. 2 Henry III.

Besides the above, the following manuscript collections of old statutes (not noticed in the Record Committee†,) were also examined; viz.

Class.	Shelf.	No.	Class.	Shelf.	No.
D. d.	7,	6.	H. h.	4,	1.
—	9,	38.	—	—	6.
—	—	72.	I. i.	6,	25.
—	10,	28.	K. k.	5,	33.
—	15,	12.	L. l.	1,	15.
—	—	18.	—	—	16.
E. e.	1,	5.	—	4,	17.
—	6,	1.	M. m.	1,	27.
—	—	33.	—	5,	19.

* Introd, p. lix. note o, and p. lx. note s.

† Rep. Rec. p. 360.

None of these manuscript collections appear to bear any character of accuracy or authenticity, except the last, M. m. 5. 19, several of the entries wherein are marked "Ex' per Rot'." in the same manner as the manuscript volume in the British Museum, Cott. Claud. D. 2. But the volume is imperfect, wanting the two charters and the Stat. of Merton. It begins with the Stat. of Marlborough, and ends with the Stat. 50 Edw. III.

D. d. 10. 28. contains a French translation of the two charters of Henry, without date. In all the collections above noticed, the copies of the charters are generally very inaccurate, sometimes beginning in the name of Edward, and yet bearing teste as some of the charters of Henry III. and being in other particulars imperfect and inconsistent on the face of them.

Trinity College. — The French translation of Magna Carta, 2 Henry III. mentioned in Blackstone's Charters* as being in this college, is contained in a manuscript collection of the old statutes, O. 1. 76. little deserving any attention or credit.

The following manuscript collections of statutes are also preserved in the library:—

Class.	Shelf.	No.		Class.	Shelf.	No.
O.	1,	72.	||	O.	4,	14.
—	2,	58.		—	9,	26.
—	3,	20.		—	7,	27.
—	—	45.		—	15,	12.

* Page lix. note 7.

Generally speaking, none of these collections are of any authenticity or value.

St. John's College.—The following short extract from a manuscript volume in this college (B. 14.) on the duties of a priest, and instructions to him respecting excommunication, seems worthy of notice, as explanatory of the origin and purpose of entering the public charters of the realm in the registers of the several cathedrals:—

“Casus in quibus aliquis est excommunicatus qui facit contra statuta.

“Item excommunicati sunt ab omnibus Archiepiscopis & Ep^{is} Anglie omnes ille qui veniunt aut faciunt contra Magnum Cartam que - - - pluries est confirmata.

“Item sint excommunicati qui faciunt contra aliquem articulum contentum in Carta de Foresta. Bene sciendum est quod in Magna Carta sunt 35 articuli, & in Carta de Foresta sunt 15 articuli. Ne quis sibi pretendat ignoranciam illorum articulorum, hic breviter inseruntur.”

Then follow abridgments of the articles of Magna Carta and Carta de Foresta.

Benet or Corpus Christi College.—All the manuscripts preserved in this college are very accurately mentioned in the return made from this college to the Record Committee*.

The manuscript volume, No. 377, contains a copy of the article now known by the appellation of the Statute *De Tallagio non concedendo*, and ascribed to the 34th year of Edward I. No record of this article as a statute has yet been discovered;

* See Rep. Rec. p. 368.

it is seldom found in any ancient manuscript collection of statutes. This manuscript is a very fair, and apparently correct collection, written in the time of Edward II.

The manuscript volume, No. 70, contains a history of the reign of Henry III. and of the several charters granted and acts passed by him. At the end of this volume is an article *De Rege Edwardo filio Henrici Regis*, with a rubric of the statutes made by that king *et sigillo suo corroborata*; and a list of certain instruments, termed *Quedam Summarie de legibus*, for the instruction of persons not learned in the law, is subjoined. Among the latter are classed the *Dies Communes in Banco, et de Dote*, and the *Extenta Manerii*; on which, though inserted in the old printed collections of statutes, dispute has arisen whether they were to be classed as statutes.

14. *Ely*.—15. *Peterborough*.—No originals, records, or transcripts of charters or statutes, are preserved in either of these cathedrals.

16. *Norwich*.—Blackstone, in his *Charters**, alludes to an ancient copy of the great charter of 9 Henry III. as being preserved in the cathedral at Norwich. The only copies of any of the charters now in that cathedral are entered in a manuscript volume, called *Branthwaite's Register*, written (as appears from internal evidence) very early in the reign of Edward I. One of these entries is

* Introduction, p. lxxi.

of the Magna Carta of King John, but very incorrect throughout, and dated 15th June; “anno Regni *decimo*,” instead of “*septimo decimo*.” The other is of the Carta de Foresta, beginning “Henricus,” but without date or attestation. A copy of the *Sententia Excommunicationis*, 37 Henry III. follows these two charters; after which the following sentences occur, which may be thought deserving notice:—

“Et ut memoria hujus sententie memoriter perpetuetur, & in cordibus omnium indelibilis imprimatur, publicari dicta sententia statuitur p' totam Angliam, in ecclesiis parochialibus, accensis candelis et pulsatis solempniter campanis, dominicis ac festivis diebus, de precepto omnium Episcopoꝝ: Set & episcopatibus Lincoln & London, ubicunq; populi conveniebant, sicuti in comitatibꝝ, hundredis, & curiis laicoꝝ, vicini sacerdotes accedentes cum crucibus & campanulis manialibus dictam sententiam horribiliter fulminarent. Protegat divina clementia omnes ecclesie regnique fideles a tanti excommunicationis voragio, terribiliter metuenda.”

The charters mentioned in the return from this cathedral to the Record Committee*, and several others relating to the church, are very carefully preserved in books of cartridge paper, to which the charters are fastened, and indexes of them are inserted in each book. The several charters, each distinguished in the return as Magna Carta, are not public charters of the realm, but are thus distinguished, in consequence of their containing confirmations of many former grants, all of which are recited in the confirming charter.

* See Rep. Rec. p. 339.

17. *Rochester*.—In the *Textus Roffensis*, preserved in the archives of the cathedral, is contained the charter or institutions of Henry I.

18. *Canterbury*.—No originals of the Magna Carta or Carta de Foresta are now to be found in the archives of this cathedral; nor even any entries of them in the ledger-books or registers, of which there are several large volumes. The registers V. and IX. are very ancient, and seem to have been transcribed and collected with care. Register V. appears to have been written soon after A.D. 1293, and is entitled thus:—"V. Registrum oīm Cartaz & Composiōnū Ecclie Cantuar̃." In fo. xiiij. is the following entry:—"Carte Regum Anglie de Libtate Ecclesiastica." In both these registers are entered the charter of Stephen of the liberties of the church, printed by Blackstone from Hearne; and also the charter of the liberties of the church granted by King John in the sixteenth year of his reign, and alluded to by him in his Magna Carta, but not printed in Blackstone's edition of the Charters.

A manuscript, marked K. 12, contains an ancient copy, stated to be from the Charter Roll, 11 Edward III. of the king's charter of that year, creating his eldest son Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, dated at Woodstock, 4th September. See printed Rot. Parl. 5 Henry IV. nu. 22, and 3 Hen. VI. nu. 29, where this charter is alluded to

A manuscript roll, marked K. 2, contains a copy

of the award of Louis the Dauphin of France, respecting the dispute between King Henry III. and his barons, dated January 1263. In a very small roll annexed is a letter from the barons to the king, declaring their determination, and pledging their security, not to offer violence to the king's person; and an answer from the king, dated Lewes, 12th May, in which he expresses himself as follows: —“ De vestra securitate vel amore non curamus, sed vos tanquam inimicos dissidimus.”

A roll (referred to in the calendars as K. 11.) containing the Ordinance of the Household, 5 Edw. II. from an exemplification under seal, formerly preserved in the treasury of the church, but not now known to be in existence, appears to afford the best evidence hitherto discovered of the undoubted validity (for the time being) of that instrument as a statute. On comparing the contents of this roll with the entry on the roll of Parliament of this year in the Tower*, it will be found that the Canterbury roll contains many matters omitted in the Parliament roll; particularly the oath of the ordainers, by which they promise to execute the ordinances “selonc droit & reson, & selonc le serelement que nostre Seignur le Roi jura a son corone-ment.” On the back of the roll the coronation oath is set forth as administered to the king by the Archbishop of Canterbury; *si Rex literatus est* in Latin, and *si Rex non literatis fuerit* in French.

* See printed Rot. Parl. vol. i. p. 281.

The latter form varies a little from the entry of the coronation oath on the close roll in the Tower*, as there stated to be taken by Edward II. on his coronation. On the back of this roll are also entered several articles in addition to and alteration of the ordinances; being probably such corrections as were made An. 5 and 6 Edward II. in consequence of the king's writs and commissions for that purpose†.

Two rolls preserved here, marked M. 260, and C. 256, contain matters elucidatory of the proceedings previous to the *Articuli Cleri*, 9 Edw. II. These rolls are intituled as follows, *viz.*

“ M. 260. Articuli liberati Dn'o E. Regi ex parte Prelatoꝝ & Cleri Angl. in p'lm'o suo Lond' in q'dragesima, anno Dn'i M°CC° nonagesimo nono, tempe Dn'i R. Cant' Archiep'i. Et postea in p'lm'o Lync' in Octob' Sc'i Illarii, Anno Dn'i M°CCC° Iidem articl. i liberati fuer't Dn'o Regi in p'sencia p'latoꝝ & p'ceꝝ toci' regni.

“ Gravamina illata Eccl.ie Anglicane sup' quibꝫ petit' remediū cōveniēns adhiberi :” [34 Articles.]

“ C. 256. ¶ Gravamina tam vetera q' nova illata Eccl.ie Anglicane liberat' Dn'o E. Reg'. fil. Reg'. E. p'im'i p' 9q'stū, ap'd Westm' per P'elatos & Clerū toci' p'vinc'

* 1 Edw. II. m. 10 d. in Cedula.

† See printed Rot. Parl. vol. i. p. 447, No. 11 and 13.

Cant' ī 9cilio p'vincial. ceb'rat' London'
vii^o kl. Deceb', Ann' Dn'i M^oCCC^oix^o.

“¶ It' respōc'ones Dn'i Reg. ad eadē
gravamina.

“¶ It' repplicac'oes & calūpnie p'latoz
& cleri 9^{ta} respōsion' Reg'.”

This latter roll consists of three parts or membranes. The Gravamina are introduced by the following sentence:—

“A vobis serenissimo principe Dn'o Edwardo, Dei gr'a Anglo³ Rege illustri, fideles vr'i ac devoti Prelati et Clerus Cantuaren' Provincie humiliter petunt, quatenus in hiis que sequuntur, remedium adhibere dignemini opportunum.”

Then follow the particulars of the *Gravamina Antiquæ*, which appear similar to those presented to King Henry III. A.D. 1258, noticed by Lord Coke, 2 Inst. 599, &c. and lately discovered in the King's Remembrancer's Office in the Exchequer, on a roll, intituled “Articuli & Petitiones p'latoz Anglie,” &c. The remainder of this Canterbury Roll, C. 256, appears to contain proceedings subsequent to those entered on the Exchequer Roll; and all these rolls together afford matter for a much more detailed and accurate account of the proceedings previous to the *Articuli Cleri*, 9 E. II. than is given by Lord Coke in his Second Institute.

IMPRISONMENT AND EXECUTION OF LORD STOURTON.

Bailey's History of the Tower.

LORD Stourton's imprisonment and execution were for one of the most daring and horrid murders that ever disgraced the annals of any civilized nation; and perhaps, the effects of malice on the human mind were never more forcibly or shockingly exemplified than in this vile transaction.

The victims to Lord Stourton's revenge, were William Hartgill and John Hartgill, his son, two gentlemen of Kilmington in Somersetshire; and as the circumstances connected with this event present us with an extraordinary picture of the state of society at that gloomy period of our history, it may not be improper to introduce here a particular account of it, from a narrative which is stated to have been written soon after its occurrence.

A quarrel had arisen some years before between the parties, respecting Lord Stourton's mother, while she was on a visit at Mr. Hartgill's house; and shortly afterwards, on a Sunday morning, his lordship went to Kilmington, with a riotous assemblage of persons armed with bows and guns, and committed violent outrages. John Hartgill, 'a tall lusty gentleman, being told of Lord Stourton's coming, went out of the church, and drew his sword, and ran to his father's house, adjoining fast to the church-yard side. Divers arrows were shot

at him in his passing; but he was not hurt. His father, the said William Hartgill, and his wife, being old folks, were driven to go up into the tower of the church, with two or three of their servants, for the safe-guard of their lives. When the said John Hartgill was come into his father's house, he took his long-bow and arrows, and bent a cross bow, and charged a gun, and caused a woman to carry the cross-bow and gun after him, and himself with his long-bow came forth, and drave away the said Lord Charles and all his men from the house, and from about the church; so not one of all the company tarried, saving half a score that were entered into the church, amongst whom one was hurt with hail-shot in the shoulder by the said John Hartgill.' Sir Thomas Speake, the sheriff of the county, was directed by the Lords of the Council to repress these disorders, and to bring up Lord Stourton, who was at first committed to prison, and afterwards bound to keep the peace; but the desire of revenge continued to canker in his breast, and the Hartgills were the constant objects of his persecution: he destroyed their corn, drove away their cattle, and kept them in a perpetual state of alarm for their lives.

At length, availing themselves of the Queen's being at Basing-end in Hampshire, they petitioned her Majesty for redress, and the parties being called before the Council, Lord Stourton promised that, if they would come to his house and desire a

reconciliation; he would not only grant it, but restore their goods and cattle. Whereupon, trusting to his promise made in such presence, they took a gentleman with them, as a friend, and went to wait upon his Lordship; but on coming near to his house, a number of Lord Stourton's servants rushed out upon them in a lane, and attempted to seize the younger Hartgill, and on his turning round and riding away, he was stopped by six others, who beset him before and behind, and ere he could draw his sword, he was wounded in several places, and they left him for dead.

At length this business was brought before the Star Chamber, and in the end, the matter appeared so heinously base on the part of Lord Stourton, that he was sentenced to pay a sum of money to the Hartgills, and was committed to the Fleet; but some time afterwards was allowed to return to his country, having first given a bond for two thousand pounds to render himself a prisoner again in the Fleet on the first day of the following term, and promised faithfully to pay in the mean time to the Hartgills the sums of money in which he had been condemned. He arrived at his house of Sturton Caundel, and in a few days afterwards sent to the Hartgills, informing them that he was ready to pay them the money which had been ordered by the Star Chamber, adding, that he also wished to commune with them for an ending of all matters

between them. Kilmington church was accordingly appointed as the place of meeting; and Lord Stourton came, accompanied with fifteen or sixteen of his own servants, many of his tenants, and some gentlemen and justices, to the number of sixty persons.

The Hartgills seeing so great a company began to be alarmed, and the elder, as he approached Lord Stourton, said, "My Lord, I see many enemies of mine about your Lordship, and therefore I am afraid to come any nearer," and though assured that they should have no bodily hurt, they refused to enter any covered place, save the church. His Lordship first laid down a purse, as if he were going to pay them; but he had scarcely begun conversing on the object of their meeting, when he seized them both, saying, *I arrest you of felony.* They were then bound with their hands behind them, by his Lordship's order; he treated the younger Hartgill's wife in the most brutal manner, and had his two prisoners confined during that day in the parsonage-house, without meat or drink; and it is said that, had he not been otherwise persuaded by one of his men, they would have been murdered there that night.

About one or two o'clock the next morning, these two unfortunate gentlemen were conveyed thence to a house at Bonham, within a quarter of a mile of Stourton, his Lordship's own residence, where they were placed in separate apartments, fast bound, without food, fire, or any thing to lay

on; and so they remained till four of the clock in the following afternoon; and then Lord Stourton sent for their examination two justices of the peace, whom he made believe that he would the next morning send them to prison. The magistrates finding them bound, directed that they should be loosed, and remain so; but they were no sooner gone than his Lordship again had them tied with their hands behind them, and directed all the keepers to leave them, except four of his own servants, whom he had previously engaged to commit the horrid deed.

About ten o'clock at night the murderers took their victims to a close adjoining Lord Stourton's house, where they forced them to kneel down, and knocked them on the heads with clubs, the base director of the deed 'standing in the mean time at a gallery door not a good coyte's cast from the place.'

'This done, the bodies were wrapped up and conveyed through a garden into the gallery where Lord Stourton stood, and so into a small place at the end thereof, his Lordship bearing a candle to light the murderers. This place adjoined Lord Stourton's own chamber, and when they were brought there, life not being quite extinct, they groaned, especially the old man, and one of the ruffians swore that they were not dead; another said it would be a good deed to rid them of their pains, and, lest a French priest lying near the place should hear, his Lordship directed that their

throats should be cut, himself standing by with a candle in his hand.'

One of the murderers now beginning to feel remorse, said to his master, 'Ah! my Lord, this is a piteous sight: had I thought as I now think, before the deed was done, your whole land should not have brought me to consent to such an act.' To which his Lordship answered, 'What, faint-hearted knave! is it any more than ridding of two knaves, that living, were troublesome to God's laws and man's? There is no more account to be made of them than of killing two sheep.'

The bodies were then let down into a dungeon, where they were buried very deep, and covered first with earth, then with two courses of thick pavement, and the place finally covered over with a quantity of chips and shavings.

The bodies were found by Sir Anthony Hungerford, then sheriff of Wiltshire, whose exertions in discovering them received the merited thanks of the Council. Lord Stourton was apprehended, and conveyed to the Tower on the twenty-eighth of January, and on the twenty-sixth of the following month he was arraigned in Westminster-Hall, before the Lord-Chief-Justice Brokes, and other judges, the Lord-Steward, the Lord-Treasurer, and others, appointed by special commission to try him; and his four servants were sent down to be arraigned in Wiltshire.

The two unfortunate gentlemen who had fallen

victims to Lord Stourton's violent and malicious nature, were Protestants ; and, as his Lordship had always been a staunch supporter of the Roman Catholic religion, and had rendered many services to the government, it was hoped by his friends that the Queen would have spared his life ; but she left him to the laws ! and there is no act of Mary's reign that does so much credit to her memory as this demonstration of justice, and her horrors at the baseness of his crime. On the twenty-eighth of February, the Council directed the sheriff of Wilts to receive his body at the hands of Sir Hugh Paulet, and to see him executed ; and on the second of March he was taken under a strong guard from the Tower, on horseback, with his arms pinioned behind him, and his legs tied under the horse's belly. The first day he was conducted to Hounslow ; on the second to Staines ; thence to Basingstoke, and on the fourth to Salisbury, where, on the next day, he was executed in the market-place ; and it is said that he made great lamentation at his death for his wilful and impious deed. It was directed that his servants should be hanged in chains at Meere, and the only mark of distinction shewn to Lord Stourton's rank, was his being hanged with a silken cord.

An ORIGINAL CIRCULAR LETTER, from Bp. Reynolds to the Clergy of his Diocese, which commemorates a melancholy calamity at BUCKINGHAM, in the year 1726.

Fire at Buckingham, 1726.

“GOOD BROTHER,—You will with this receive his Majesty’s most gracious letters patent for making a charitable collection in favour of the poor sufferers by fire at Buckingham. The loss is very great! more than an hundred and thirty families there being reduced to the last extremities!

“These poor people stand commended to the rest of the kingdom, as they have been an antient Corporation, living up to the ends of their institution, fair traders, faithful subjects, helpful to such as wanted, and, to other great towns, a very good example.

“But besides this general commendation, they are more particularly recommended to us, and intitled to our more especial regard, on account of their proximity of relation, being, as it were, of the same household, our brethren by the same mother, of the same Church and Diocese with ourselves. And as we with them, and they with us, are hereby in a more intimate manner members one of another; so I trust that you and your well-disposed parishioners will have a more tender feeling of their present distress, and express it in a proper manner on this occasion.

"It is an unkind observation made by some, that applications of this sort are much increased of late years ; but it is certain that the wealth of the nation is, by the blessing of God, much more increased : and you, I hope, will not be wanting to inculcate the obligation hereby laid on those who partake of this happy increase, to do good, as they have opportunities, to all men, especially to those that are most nearly related to them in Christ, to those that are their fellow-servants of the same house.

"I pray God to have you and your parish under his most gracious protection, and remain your truly loving Brother,

" R. LINCOLN.

" *Park-street, Westminster, April 28, 1726.*"

ST. HELIER, JERSEY.

THE following Antiquarian particulars were communicated to Dr. Ducarel, in June 1756, by the learned and Rev. Philip Morant, the well known Colchester Antiquary.

"A Norman gentleman founded in Jersey an Abbey in honour of St. Helerius ; but the time when, is not particularly mentioned. *Du Monstier, Neustria Pia*, p. 712.—It stood in the same little island where now stands Elizabeth-castle ; was plentifully endowed both in the island and in Normandy, and filled with Canons Regular of St. Augustin. But the Empress Maud, in passing

from England to Normandy, meeting with danger at sea, she made a vow, that if it pleased God to deliver her from the distress she was in, she would build an abbey in the place where she should come to land, which proved to be Chérbourg. Mindful of her vow, she sent for Robert, abbot of St. Helier, in Jersey, and committed the work to his care, as one well versed in such affairs. Thus was the abbey built, and called *de Voto*, from the Empress's vow; and, in reward for his service, Robert was made the first abbot of it, without relinquishing St. Helier; yet so that the two houses remained distinct and separate, although they had but one and the same superior. Soon after, it was suggested that the endowment of the new abbey fell short of what was requisite to support the dignity of a Royal foundation, and therefore the King was moved to have St. Helier annexed to it; which was done, to the great prejudice and detriment of the island. For whereas before, the whole estate of St. Helier, (which, says Robertus de Monte, was *tripliciter ditior*, i. e. thrice richer than the other,) had used to be consumed and spent within the island, the same must thenceforth be carried over to Cherbourg, after a small portion reserved for the maintenance of a prior and a few canons. And now it must no longer be called the *Abbey*, but the *Priory of St. Helier*; and on that foot of a priory it stood until the reign of Henry V. when all Priories Alien were

suppressed, both in England and in these islands. —See *Ph. Falle's History of Jersey*, edit. 1734, pp. 35, 36."

DIFFERENCE OF MANNERS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE LAST CENTURY.

COVENT GARDEN, from the year 1730 to 1735, was a scene of much dissipation, being surrounded with taverns and night-houses. This, and the vicinity of Clare-market, were the rendezvous of the most of the theatrical wits, who were composed of various orders. The ordinaries of that day were from 6*d.* to 1*s.* per head; at the latter there were two courses, and a great deal of what the world calls good company, in the mixed way. There were private rooms for the higher order of wits and noblemen, where much drinking was occasionally used. The butchers of Clare-market, then very numerous, were staunch friends to the players; and on every dread of riot or disturbance in the house, the early appearance of those *formidable critics* made an awful impression.

The manners of the town and country, too, were very distinct at that period to what they were at the close of the last century. A countryman in town was instantly known by his dress as well as manners; the almost uniform habit being a complete suit of light grey cloth or drab colour, with a slouched hat and lank hair. Few persons living sixty or one hundred miles from town ever

saw it. Going to London was then deemed a matter of *real* importance, and was considered as a memorable event in the life of the party who had the hardihood to undertake it. Country shopkeepers, who lived at this distance, generally had their goods sent them, and their requests complied with in consequence of written orders.

The city and west end of the town kept equal distances. No merchant scarcely lived out of the former; his residence was always attached to the counting-house; and his credit, in a great measure, depended upon his observing those circumstances. The first emigration of the merchants from the city, about 60 years ago, was to Hatton-Garden; but none but men who had secured a large fortune, and whose credits were beyond the smallest censure, durst take this flight. The lawyers, too, lived mostly in their Inns of Court, or about Westminster Hall; and the players all in the vicinity of the two theatres. Quin, Booth, and Wilks, lived almost constantly in or about Bow-street, Covent-garden; Colley Cibber in Charles-street; Mrs. Prichard in Craven-building, Drury-lane; Billy Havard in Henrietta-street; and Garrick, a great part of his life, in Southampton-street. The inferior players lived or lodged in Little Russel-street, Vinegar-yard, and the little courts about the Garden, and the veteran Macklin always about James-street, or under the Piazzas, so that they could all be mustered by beat of drum

—could attend rehearsals without any inconvenience, and save coach hire—no inconsiderable part of a former player's annual expences. But a greater change has been effected ; they are all now looking for high ground, squares, genteel neighbourhoods—no matter how far distant from the theatres, which should be the great scene of business ; as if local situations could give *rhythm* to the profession, or genteel neighbourhoods instinctively produce good manners.

The audience then had their different complexion likewise ; no indifferent or vulgar person scarcely ever frequented the pit, and very few women. It was composed of young merchants of rising eminence, barristers, and students of the Inns of Court, who were mostly well read in plays, and whose judgment was in general worth attending to. There were few riots or disturbances ; the gravity and good sense of the pit not only kept the house in order, but the players likewise. The prologues in those days, and in times long before them, deprecate the judgment of the pit, where the critics lay in knots, and whose favourable opinion was constantly courted.

None but people of independent fortunes and avowed rank and situation, ever presumed to go into the boxes ; and all the lower part of the house, laid out in boxes, were sacred to virtue and decorum. No man sat covered in a box, or stood up during a performance, but those in the

last row, where no one's prospect could be interrupted. "Neither *boots*, *spurs*, nor *horses*," once exclaimed Macklin, "were admitted in those days—we were too attentive to the cunning of the scene to be interrupted, and no intrusion of this kind would be endured; but to do those days common justice, the evil did not exist; *rakes* and *puppies* found another vent for their vices and follies than the regions of a theatre."

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